

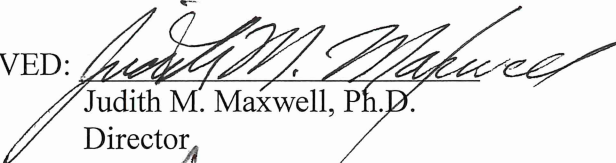
A TYPOLOGICAL APPROACH
TO WORD-ORDER LITERALISM
AS AN INDICATION OF SAINT JEROME'S TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE
IN THE VULGATE

AN ABSTRACT
SUBMITTED ON THE FOURTEENTH DAY OF APRIL 2020
TO THE LINGUISTICS PROGRAM
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
OF THE SCHOOL OF LIBERAL ARTS
OF TULANE UNIVERSITY
FOR THE DEGREE
OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
BY




Kevin J. Redmann

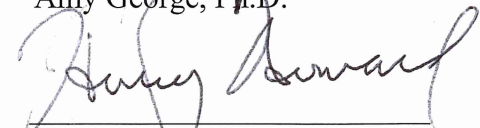
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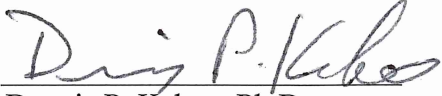
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ABSTRACT

Despite the important role played by St. Jerome (331–420) in the history of translation, his own translations have suffered some neglect when it comes to detailed investigations of his theory and praxis. In particular, the distinction he espoused between his ordinary sense-for-sense mode of translating and the more literal mode he used when translating the Holy Scriptures – “where even the order of the words is a mystery” (Epistle 57.5.2; *ubi et verborum ordo mysterium est*) – has been overlooked or even denied by some scholars, often with the assumption that all of his translations were produced in a more or less sense-for-sense manner.

Taking as a basis the relative independence of the criteria by which a translation may be considered literal, this study examines the single parameter of word order (highlighted by Jerome himself) through a broadly typological and even statistical approach, in order to test the thesis that within St. Jerome’s oeuvre, Scripture translation, as a genre, licenses different rules of language usage. The demonstration of a word-order literalism which employs an over-abundance of marked syntactic patterns in Jerome’s translations of selected Old Testament books gives an indication of one aspect of his translation technique in the Vulgate.

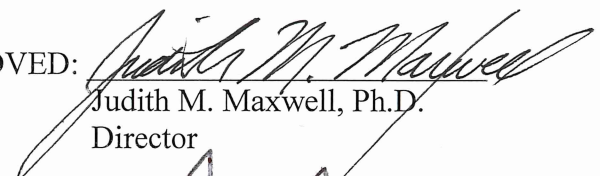
Quantitative data were obtained from three separate corpora, representing the genres investigated for this study: (1) a sampling of St. Jerome’s original compositions (i.e., texts which are not translations), providing something of a control by which to accurately measure variations from his standard word orders; (2) a sampling of his non-


scriptural translations; and (3) a sampling of his translations of Old Testament books included in the Vulgate. Within each of these three corpora, three aspects of word order are analyzed: (1) the collocation of genitives with the nouns they limit; (2) the collocation of demonstrative adjectives with their nouns; and (3) the placement of verbs in their clauses. Typological inconsistency and statistically significant variations in word order across corpora, as well as the actual degree of correspondence of the translations to the word orders of their source texts, are brought to bear on the thesis.

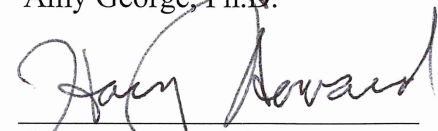
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Ad maiorem Dei gloriam

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Leading up to this present moment, countless others have shaped my scholarship

and given me their generous support – if their names are not all remembered here, their contributions are nonetheless appreciated. No account would be complete, however, without acknowledging my parents and brothers, from whom I learned to speak, but who also inspired in me from earliest youth a fascination with language. Then there are my various language teachers, from grammar school through graduate school, particularly: Mr. Showalter Knight and the late Dr. Stephen Pearce from the Classics Department of Jesuit High School, New Orleans; Dr. Catherine Freis and the late Dr. Judith Krabbe from the Classics Department of Millsaps College; and all those I worked with in Linguistics and Classics at Tulane University. But of all my teachers, there are two who deserve special mention for the influence they have had on me. First, the late Rev. Claude Boudreaux, S.J., also of Jesuit High School, a humble man whose immense linguistic knowledge was matched only by his generosity in sharing it with his students. Second, Dr. Michael Gleason, also of Millsaps College, whose expertise as a teacher has been a model I have striven to follow in my own career, and whose judicious advice, properly delivered at the right moment, has made all the difference in my life.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Biblical citations follow the format of *The SBL Handbook of Style*, 2nd ed.

Hebrew transliteration follows the academic style proposed in the same.

Glossing for the examples generally follows the format proposed by the Leipzig Glossing Rules (www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php), but with some adaptations to suit the needs of this project. In order to minimize the glossing, gender is only noted where it illuminates a particular example, and mood is only included for the glossing of verbs that are not indicative. The abbreviations used in glossing are as follows:

1	first person	MID	middle voice
2	second person	N	neuter
3	third person	NOM	nominative
ABL	ablative	OBJ	object marker
ABS	absolute state	PASS	passive voice
ACC	accusative	PFX	prefix conjugation
AOR	aorist	PL	plural
CMPR	comparative	PLPRF	pluperfect
CONJ	conjunction	PRF	perfect
CST	construct state	PRS	present
DAT	dative	PTCL	particle
DPNT	deponent	PTCP	participle
F	feminine	SBJV	subjunctive
FUT	future	SFX	suffix conjugation
GEN	genitive	SG	singular
IMP	imperative	VOC	vocative
INF	infinitive	WPFX	<i>waw</i> -with-prefix conjugation
IPF	imperfect	WSFX	<i>waw</i> -with-suffix conjugation
M	masculine		

Other abbreviations used throughout the text are:

BDF	<i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> (Blass, Debrunner, and Funk 1961).
BHS	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i> (Elliger and Rudolph 1983).
BSV	<i>Biblia Sacra Vulgata</i> (i.e., <i>Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem</i> , Weber et al. 2007).

CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina.</i>
CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.</i>
GCS	<i>Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der Ersten Drei Jahrhunderte.</i>
Gildersleeve	<i>Gildersleeve's Latin Grammar</i> , 3 rd ed. (Gildersleeve and Lodge [1895] 2000).
GKC	<i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i> (Gesenius and Kautzsch [1910] 2006).
HBLG	<i>A Latin Grammar</i> (Hale and Buck 1966).
IBHS	<i>An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax</i> (Waltke and O'Connor 1990).
LCL	<i>Loeb Classical Library.</i>
LHS	<i>Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr Lateinische Grammatik</i> , 2 Bd. (Hofmann et al. 1965).
LS	<i>A Latin Dictionary</i> (Lewis and Short 1879; accessed through the Perseus Digital Library, www.perseus.tufts.edu).
LSJ	<i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> (Liddell, Scott, and Jones 1940; accessed through the Perseus Digital Library, www.perseus.tufts.edu).
LXX	Septuagint.
Marouzeau	<i>L'ordre des mots dans la phrase latine</i> , vols. 1 and 2 (Marouzeau 1922 and 1938).
MT	Masoretic Text.
Perseus	Perseus Digital Library (www.perseus.tufts.edu).
PG	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i> (Migne).
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> (Migne).
SC	<i>Sources Chrétiennes.</i>
Smyth	<i>Greek Grammar</i> (Smyth and Messing 1956).
TLG	Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (www.tlg.uci.edu).

Examples from Scripture are cited according to BHS for the Hebrew and BSV for the Latin. All other examples use the following system:

- Ep. 1.1.1 St. Jerome's epistles, cited according to Hilberg's edition in CSEL 54–56, giving the epistle number, the chapter number, and the paragraph number.
- Prol. Hom. 1 The prologue to St. Jerome's translation of Origen's homilies on Ezekiel (and Jeremiah), cited according to Marti's (1974) reprint from GCS 33, giving the beginning line number.
- HQG 1.1 The prologue to *Hebraicae Quaestiones in Libro Geneseos*, cited according to Antin's edition in CCSL 72, giving the page number of Lagarde's edition (noted in Antin's), and the beginning line number.
- In Es. 1 The prologue to *Commentariorum in Esaiam*, cited according to Adriaen's edition in CCSL 73, giving the beginning line number.
- Hom. 1.1.1 Origen's homilies on Jeremiah, cited according to Nautin's edition in SC 232 (for Homilies 1, 8, 9, and 11) and Klostermann's edition in GCS 6 (for Homily 17), giving the homily number, the chapter number, and the beginning line number (following the practice of TLG and SC, where line numbers are continuous from the beginning of each chapter).
- Hom. 1.1, 255 A St. Jerome's translation of Origen's homilies on Jeremiah, cited according to Delarue and Delarue's edition in PG 13, giving the homily number and the chapter number, followed by the beginning PG column number and letter.

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CHAPTER I – INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

There is no question that St. Jerome's (331–420)¹ Latin translations of the Hebrew Scriptures, the main source of the Vulgate Bible's Old Testament – together with Jerome's explicit statements about translation in his prologues, tracts, commentaries, and epistles – are foundational texts for the history of translation in Western civilization.² Despite the far-reaching importance of these translations, Jerome's translation technique has not been adequately studied.³ One issue that deserves more investigation is Jerome's application of different translation techniques depending on the genre of the work to be translated. He himself claimed significantly different approaches between his scriptural and non-scriptural translations:

Ego enim non solum fateor, sed libera voce profiteor me in interpretatione Graecorum absque scripturis sanctis, ubi et verborum ordo mysterium est, non verbum e verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu.

For I not only admit, but profess with a free voice that in the translation of Greek – apart from the Holy Scriptures, where even the order of the words is a mystery – I do not render word for word, but sense for sense. (Epistle 57.5.2)⁴

¹ There is some dispute as to Jerome's exact dates. Those given are according to Kelly (1975).

² See, among others, Munday (2008), Weissbort and Eysteinnsson (2006), Greenstein (1989), Kytzler (1989), and Brock (1969). This general consensus makes it all the more curious that Jerome is missing from Morgan's (1959) "Bibliography: 46 B.C.–1958," which skips from Horace in 20 B.C. to Luther in 1530 without the slightest hint as to what happened in the intervening centuries or what contributed to Luther's ideas.

³ Cf. Kedar-Kopfstein (1968), one of the few significant contributions to this field of inquiry.

⁴ The Latin text is from Bartelink (1980), who gives the date 395/96 for this epistle. All translations and glosses, unless otherwise noted, are mine.

That there is some variation of practice within St. Jerome's corpus is taken for granted by many scholars,⁵ but comparatively few seem to acknowledge a significant divergence of methodology from Jerome's non-scriptural translations to his scriptural ones. Schwarz (1955) recognizes some differences in "ornamentation of style and paraphrase" (36), but nonetheless argues that Jerome "made no difference between a translation of a profane book and one of the Bible" (34), and that he "advocated the word-for-word method of Bible translation while he himself did not follow it" (35). Likewise, Seidman (2006, 79) and Kraus (1996, 18) dismiss outright the exception claimed for scriptural translation,⁶ while Munday (2008), Greenstein (1989), Barr (1967),⁷ and Cannon (1927), among others, implicitly deny the distinction by characterizing Jerome's scriptural translations as idiomatic, free, or sense-for-sense.⁸ On the other hand, Brock (1969, 99) explicitly accepts Jerome's purported variety of techniques and characterizes his scriptural translations as literal and word-for-word,⁹ while Cuendet (1933) and Blatt (1938)

⁵ Weissbort and Eysteinnsson (2006), Jacobsen (2004), Adler (1994), Kedar (1988) and as Kedar-Kopfstein (1968), Barr (1979), Brock (1969), and Schwarz (1955), among others.

⁶ Condamin (1911, 428–29) is gentler in his dismissal, noting that Jerome is *generally* able to overcome such literalism ("mais, en pratique, il s'affranchit généralement de cette étroite dépendance"), similarly Moure Casas (2007, 123), while Meershoek (1966, 26–27) effectively dismisses the exception by claiming for Jerome a middle path between literal and free translation.

⁷ As noted above, Barr (1979) presents a more mixed view of Jerome's technique.

⁸ Adler (1994, 334–35), while not entirely dismissing the distinction, asserts great exceptions to both halves of Jerome's stated dichotomy.

In his own comments on this passage, Bartelink (1980, 44–47) notes the variety of statements in Jerome's writings (including the prefaces to his scriptural translations) which sometimes favor a word-for-word technique and sometimes a sense-for-sense one, and he suggests that Jerome's praxis is equally mixed. His discussion of the phrase *verborum ordo*, is chiefly concerned with making a counter-argument to Antin (1968) who catalogues a variety of uses of *ordo* for the purpose of undermining the simple (even obvious) interpretation "order of words." Adams's (2003) explanation of "word-by-word renderings" (470–71, see especially his citation of Justinian) lends further support to Bartelink's already strong case for the simple meaning.

⁹ His view is somewhat qualified, however, both there (1969, 100–101) and in Brock (1979, 79), where he notes some compromises on Jerome's part.

implicitly accept the distinction.¹⁰

The biggest obstacles to reconciling these differences of opinion are the promiscuity of parameters on which they are based (stylistic, semantic, syntactic, etc.) and the lack of quantified/quantifiable data adduced in support of each opinion.¹¹ This study examines the single parameter of word order (highlighted by Jerome himself), especially from a typological perspective, by quantifying and comparing data from St. Jerome's works, as well as from the source texts of his translations, in order to test the thesis that within Jerome's oeuvre, Scripture translation, as a genre, licenses different rules of language usage.¹²

A. Context of This Study

Translation theory has routinely reduced the variety of methodologies espoused by translators (and theorists) to an opposition of two poles: literal vs. free, word-for-word vs. sense-for-sense, formal equivalence vs. dynamic equivalence, etc.¹³ While the debate over these divergent practices is probably as old as translation itself, the recorded

¹⁰ Blatt clearly accepts St. Jerome's literalism in scriptural translations. While he acknowledges Jerome's defense of freedom in other translations, he gives no assessment of how free those other translations actually are.

¹¹ Cf. Tov's (1981, 60n39) lamenting the lack of such data in evaluations of the Septuagint's translations and the substitution of "*intuitive* understanding of the translation character" on the part of scholars making such evaluations.

¹² Cf. Panhuis' (1981) comment that "it appears thus that word order phenomena are linked to genres" (306).

¹³ See van der Louw (2007, 10), as well as Munday (2008), Greenstein (1989), Nida (1964), and Schwarz (1955). Steiner's third option, "free imitation" (1975, 303), though perhaps closer to what Cicero meant by translation in certain instances (Copeland 1989; cf. van der Louw 2007), does not really factor into the discussion of St. Jerome's techniques. Porter (2009) would like to emancipate translation theory and praxis from this literal/free debate; therefore, his approach is to reorient the whole discussion (bringing in such fields as discourse analysis), rather than to move the debate itself forward.

beginnings in western civilization are typically sought in the writings of Marcus Tullius Cicero, whose *De optimo genere oratorum* (46 B.C.)¹⁴ laid the foundation of such distinctions and provided something of a basis for Jerome's own thoughts as expressed, among other places,¹⁵ in his Epistle 57 (known as *Liber de Optimo Genere Interpretandi* after Cicero's work).¹⁶

Munday (2008) provides a detailed review of the major theorists and translators who have contributed to this discussion from Cicero to the present. Along the way, he situates Jerome (following the lead of Cicero) as an advocate of free or sense-for-sense translation, even in the case of biblical translation (20).¹⁷ Van der Louw (2007), however, in his review of ancient translation, points out that Cicero "applied different approaches to various literary genres" (37), describing Cicero's translations of scientific and philosophical works as literal. This more detailed assessment of Cicero's theory and praxis shows that Jerome's avowed exception for one genre (Scripture) is in no way at odds with his self-accused status as a Ciceronian (Ep. 22.30.4), but is in fact foreseen in Cicero's own work as a translator. It also shows that an either-or assessment, as presented

¹⁴ See Weissbort and Eysteinnsson (2006, 21) for a brief introduction to and excerpt of this text. Particularly relevant is their cautionary note: "While Cicero has been routinely quoted in defence of non-literal translation, it should be remembered that he is instancing the translation of speeches."

¹⁵ For other remarks on translation by Jerome, see the preface to his translation of Eusebius' *Chronicle* (PL 27, col. 33–40), the prologue to his translation of the books of Samuel and Kings (BSV 364–66), and his epistles 21, 84, 106, 112, and 114 (CSEL 54–55).

¹⁶ The influence is clear, even if one accepts Copeland's (1989) argument that Jerome seriously misunderstood and departed from the intentions behind Cicero's statement of theory; however, cf. van der Louw's (2007, 36–42) fuller presentation of Cicero's approaches to translation, as well as Adler's (1994) insightful and nuanced discussion of Jerome's appropriation of the terms *ad verbum* and *ad sensum*.

¹⁷ Munday's dismissal of Jerome's statement that Scripture is an exception to the rule of sense-for-sense translation is confused at best.

by Munday and others, is insufficient to the point of error.¹⁸

Barr (1979), using the Septuagint (LXX) as his basis, was the first to break truly new ground in the discussion of ancient translation, especially as relates to the literal/free debate. Approaching the subject from the idea that “literal” translation is easier to define than “free,” he quickly establishes that there are multiple modes in which a translation may be literal (1979, [20]):

1. The division into elements or segments, and the sequence in which these elements are represented.
2. The quantitative addition or subtraction of elements.
3. Consistency or non-consistency in the rendering, i.e. the degree to which a particular versional term is used for all (or most) cases of a particular term of the original.
4. Accuracy and level of semantic information, especially in cases of metaphor and idiom.
5. Coded “etymological” indication of formal/semantic relationships obtaining in the vocabulary of the original language.
6. Level of text and level of analysis.

His most important insight, however, is the realization that a translation can be at the same time “literal” in one or more of these modes and “free” in the rest – i.e., a translation need not be *only* literal or free, but can be *both* in varying degrees.¹⁹ Any declaration, then, that a translation adheres to one of these poles, based on the assessment of one or two parameters, runs the serious risk of mischaracterizing that translation with regard to the remaining parameters.

For the present investigation, Barr’s inclusion of word order (“the sequence in

¹⁸ Greenstein (1989, 98–102) goes so far as to see the whole enterprise of Christian biblical translation, including Jerome, as idiomatic compared to a Jewish tendency for literalism, but little is given to substantiate these evaluations. Contrast this with Sparks’s (1970) evaluation that “Jerome’s version from the Hebrew is thus a curious mixture. In many respects it is conservative and in some places a slavishly literal rendering of the original” (525).

¹⁹ Rife (1931), though outlining a similar list of “methods” of literalism (76–79), does not address the possibility and implications of a translation’s being literal by some methods but not others.

which these elements are represented”) as merely a part of his first mode, linked with the division of elements, and his greater attention to division than order are something of a weakness. By contrast, Tov’s (1981, 54–59) list of five very similar criteria for literalness gives word order its own place, though without much elaboration.²⁰ McLay (2003), building on the work of Barr and Tov, largely presents the same concepts, but he redivides the criteria for literalness²¹ into three categories, allowing word order to stand alone as one of those three. In his estimation, “the evaluation of word order would appear to be the easiest of the criteria of formal equivalence for which to determine statistics” (54–55).²²

Olofsson’s (2009) essay on word order in the LXX raises the status of word order as a criterion of literalism even further, calling subservience to the word order of the source text “a prime characteristic or even the primary characteristic of a literal translation” (112). Despite its being “an essential aspect of literality,” he sees the study of word order as “perhaps one of the most neglected” (105). Following Barr (1979), he also notes that the various modes of literalism can function independently within a single

²⁰ Cf. Rife (1931, 76–78). This criterion is developed by Marquis (1986), with many examples from the LXX version of Ezekiel (the LXX is the focus of Tov’s work as well). Marquis even suggests a system for calculating a translation unit’s percentage of subservience or non-subservience to word order, so as to give a rough (in his words “impressionistic”) estimate of the degree of literalness. However imprecise, this sort of data-driven analysis nonetheless yields a more accurate evaluation of literalness along any given parameter than an “*intuitive* understanding of the translation character” (Tov 1981, 60n39).

²¹ Following Nida (1964), he uses the term “formal equivalence.”

²² McLay, however, is interested in a more holistic approach to the discussion of translation technique, one which includes detailed analysis of the “dynamic features” of a translation as well as the literal ones. That being the case, he has serious reservations about methodologies which focus on literalism. One of his chief objections regards “the assumption that the translator **intended** to produce a literal translation” (55, emphasis original). While this may or may not be a faulty assumption for the LXX translators – Brock (1979, 70, 73), among others, seems to think it a valid assumption – Jerome’s explicit statement of intended literalism in biblical translation nullifies McLay’s objection as far as any investigation of the Vulgate.

translation (Olofsson 2009, 112), necessitating the study of word order apart from any other evaluation of literalism in a translation.

It may be observed that some of the greatest theoretical advances in this discussion have taken place within the context of LXX studies.²³ A large factor in the advancement of theories of literalism is the interest in using the LXX Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures as a tool for text criticism of the Hebrew as preserved in the Masoretic Text (MT).²⁴ The more literalistic the Greek translation, the more safely one can posit, in instances where the LXX reading disagrees with the MT, a Hebrew *Vorlage* which was at variance with the Hebrew preserved in the MT. The end of this theorizing, then, is not translation theory for its own sake, even in an historical sense, but textual criticism. For whatever reasons, the Vulgate Old Testament, a similarly ancient translation from the Hebrew, does not seem to have won the same attention from text critics, despite the evidence it could reliably provide.²⁵

Not surprisingly, some of the best analyses of literalism in translation (including those already mentioned) have also taken place in LXX studies. Rife (1931), for example, gives a thorough analysis of various Greek versions of the book of Daniel, dedicating his

²³ In addition to Barr (1979), Tov (1981), and Marquis (1986), see Talshir (1986), Tov and Wright (1985), and Glenny (2009). Glenny spends the second chapter of his monograph on the LXX translation of Amos outlining the analytic framework established by Barr, Tov, McLay, et al. and applying it to LXX-Amos in order to decide whether the translation is “literal or free.” In the process, he lays heavy emphasis on the importance of word-order mimicry as an indicator of literalness, finding that the subservience to word order in LXX-Amos is so marked as to indicate the intentional literalism of the translator (cf. the misgivings of McLay [2003] noted above).

²⁴ Though discussing many of the same matters, McLay’s (2003) goal is to discover the source of Old Testament quotes and references in the New Testament.

²⁵ But see IBHS § 1.6.3k, Kedar-Kopfstein (especially 1964, but also [Kedar] 1988, 337), Sutcliffe (1949), and Smith (1891). See also my remarks below on Jerome’s Hebrew competence. For the use of word order more generally in textual criticism, see Dover (1960, 66–7) and Muldowney (1937, xxiv).

entire fourth chapter to the issue of word order.²⁶ His attention to the typical word orders of Greek, Hebrew, and Aramaic, as well as to the atypical word order of “translation Greek,” sets a clear precedent for the present investigation.²⁷ By contrast, study of the Vulgate’s translation technique, especially with regard to word order, has been slower to develop.²⁸ Kedar-Kopfstein’s (1968) dissertation, “The Vulgate as a Translation: Some Semantic and Syntactical Aspects of Jerome’s Version of the Hebrew Bible,” is a monumental testament to his conviction that the only way one can accurately assess Jerome’s approach to translation in the Vulgate, including the extent to which the translation is literal or free, is by a careful and detailed examination of the Vulgate translation itself (56). Nonetheless, as massive and well-documented as this work is, Kedar-Kopfstein still manages not to directly address issues of word order.²⁹

²⁶ For a similar attention to word order in more recent scholarship, see Eidsvåg (2016).

²⁷ In his conclusion, Rife outlines four “methods” of literalism – a discussion which foreshadows Barr’s and Tov’s works and falls short of being as ground-breaking only on account of its brevity and lack of development. It is nonetheless worth noting that Rife, like Tov (1981), has word order stand on its own as a method of literalism. He even makes passing reference to such word-order-based literalism in the Latin rendering of Scripture (77), however, it is unclear whether he has in mind the Old Latin version(s), Jerome’s Vulgate, or both.

²⁸ Rönsch (1869), Goelzer ([1884] 2011) – who follows Rönsch in his remarks – Condamin (1911, 1912), and Plater and White (1926) do not even address the possibility of word-order literalism in Jerome’s translations from the Hebrew. Plater and White do note certain instances of “almost slavish literalness” (1926, 29) to the Greek word order in the Vulgate, but this does not preclude their overall judgment that Jerome’s Vulgate translations are “at once correct and natural, accurate and idiomatic” (7), an impression shared by Kraus (1996), who argues that the Latinity of the Vulgate version of Exodus “derives primarily from the Classical rather than Christian tradition” (92), despite having noted that “Jerome generally follows the Hebrew word order” (33). Meershoek (1966) is uninterested in pursuing the subject of word-order literalism beyond a few dismissive comments in his “Réflexions générales” (4–30, see especially 26–27).

²⁹ The same author’s later work, Kedar (1988), is also occupied with topics other than word order. Interestingly, the one mention of “un-Latin word-order” is made in reference to a passage from the Old Latin “in contradiction to the [Vulgate]” (306); however, excepting those phrases that Jerome simply leaves out of his translation, the Vulgate’s word order in this passage is largely the same as that of the Old Latin. If word order plays any significant role in Kedar’s impression of the Old Latin of this passage “as outlandish, Hebraic” (306), then why not of the Vulgate as well? The answer seems to lie precisely in the fact that word order has not been analyzed separately, but given passing notice in the midst of analyzing other issues.

The Vulgate's word order is eventually taken up by García de la Fuente's (1983) article "Orden de palabras en hebreo, griego, latín y romanceamiento castellano medieval de *Joel*," which provides a meticulous discussion of Hebrew and Latin word orders, as well as convincing quantitative information demonstrating the close adherence of the Vulgate's *Joel* to the underlying Hebrew word order. However, since García de la Fuente's nets are cast wide (comparing the word order of *Joel* in four languages) and his standard of Latinity is the Classical language, he gives no attention to St. Jerome's use of word order as a translation technique vis-à-vis his other translations and original compositions; and, therefore, the question of differing techniques among Jerome's translations remains open.³⁰

Rubio's (2009) "Semitic influence in the history of Latin syntax" is one of the most linguistically sensitive and insightful discussions of the topic. Interestingly, the majority of his essay is focused on the "translationese" of the Vulgate, since it is there that one finds "true syntactic Semiticisms in Latin" (198).³¹ Just as important as his well-exemplified catalogue of specific syntagms is the theoretical framework he uses. In particular, his distinction between quantitative and qualitative Semiticisms (a distinction he credits to García de la Fuente) is very important to my own investigation of word

³⁰ Likewise, García de la Fuente's (1990) *Introducción al latín bíblico y cristiano*, citing Jerome's Epistle 57, lists among the Semitic influences on biblical Latin "Dislocación total del orden normal de palabras que regía en latín clásico" (112); but by continuing to use the Classical standard as a point of comparison, St. Jerome's particular usage, especially as differentiated among the various genres of his oeuvre, remains unresolved.

³¹ Rubio distinguishes between "true syntactic influence and mere calques. Whereas syntactic influence spreads to similar structures and constructions, calques remain limited to specific lexical items and particular expressions" (195). What sets the Vulgate apart from other similar translations, then, is that "the 'translationese' of the Vulgate decisively influenced the syntax and style of many Christian authors, as well as the Latin spoken in ecclesiastical and learned circles, from Late Antiquity to the end of the Middle Ages" (198–99).

order. Rubio explains: “the latter are exclusive to Biblical and Christian Latin, whereas the former have precedents in the Classical language” (204). Since Latin word order is quite manipulable, a high frequency of marked word orders and low frequency of unmarked word orders can be looked at as a quantitative Semiticism.³² Rubio’s own discussion of word order is too brief (a single paragraph at the very end of his essay), but he does affirm that the “Latin translations (both the *Vet. Lat.* and the *Vulg.*) of the Bible tend to carefully reproduce the word order of the Hebrew original” (229). Whereas Kraus (1996) found no conflict between such subservient word order in the Vulgate’s Exodus and Classical Latinity, Rubio makes clear that the cumulative effect of non-standard word orders in the Latin of the Vulgate is a quantitative Semiticism.

This, of course, raises the question of the standard by which the naturalness of the Vulgate’s word order, i.e. marked and unmarked patterns, can be discerned in spite of Latin’s relatively free word order. For it matters very little that the Latin follows the Hebrew word order if that order is just as natural (unmarked) in Latin.³³ The study of Latin word order, however, is a varied and contested field of inquiry. Apart from those scholars who have been unable to discern any logic in Latin word order,³⁴ there appear two basic approaches to the topic: one being pragmatic, that is, analyzing the order of constituents in a sentence according to their communicative roles (theme–rheme, topic–focus); and the other syntactic, treating order in terms of syntactic roles (subject, object,

³² Cf. Tov (1988, 180), Talshir (1986, 315), and Kedar-Kopfstein (1968, 36) on similar issues in the LXX.

³³ Cf. Rife (1931, 77–8). Rife and Olofsson (2009, 108) both note that following the word order of the source text requires a language which is very flexible in its word order (like Greek or Latin, and unlike English), thus the issue of Latin’s flexibility as well as its preference for certain patterns is important.

³⁴ For example, Barnett (1983, 26): “I will therefore assume that Latin lacks linear order at all levels and will continue to use scrambling as a purely descriptive term.”

verb, etc.). The pragmatic approach, which traces its origins as far back as Weil (1887) but did not really gain traction until the latter part of last century,³⁵ is in certain respects complementary to the syntactic, since it seeks to provide motivation for the observed patterns in the language. This aspect can be seen in Divine and Stephens' (2006, 6) conciliatory desire "to combine the rich empirical documentation of nineteenth-century philology with the deeper and more explanatory insights of twentieth-century theoretical linguistics."³⁶ Nonetheless, some have found this an unhappy marriage,³⁷ and have pointedly tried to distance themselves from syntactic methodologies.³⁸

The syntactic approach is itself a diverse field, incorporating elements of (transformational) generative grammar,³⁹ "Government Binding Theory restricted by Landing Site Theory,"⁴⁰ "Principles & Parameters,"⁴¹ typology,⁴² etc. Yet there is an

³⁵ See, for example, Panhuis (1981, 1982), de Jong (1983), Pinkster (1990), de Jonge (2007), and Spevak (2008, 2010).

³⁶ Such harmonizing of approaches can also be seen in Marouzeau's (1922, 1938, &c.) landmark volumes on the subject, seemingly followed in an extremely abbreviated version (less than two pages) by Väänänen (1967) for vulgar Latin; in various school grammars such as Gildersleeve and Lodge ([1895] 2000), Greenough et al. (1903), and Hale and Buck (1966); in the encyclopedic treatment of LHS (Hofmann et al. 1965); and in recent articles such as de Jong (1989), Cabrillana (2011), and Salvi (2011).

³⁷ Panhuis (1982, 2–3), for example, argues that too often in such a combination "the communicative perspective is formulated in syntactic terms (subject, object, etc.) and is finally lost sight of, except in some occasional, very obvious passages where one cannot help but realize the importance of a certain position."

³⁸ Panhuis (2006, 185) begins his discussion of word order stating: "The place of the constituents in the sentence is not determined by their function (subject, object, adverbial, etc.)." Ironically, though, both here (2006, 187) and in Panhuis (1982, 121, where the discussion is identical to that of 1981, 297), at least for certain genres, the verb is excepted from his "communicative perspective," not for communicative or pragmatic reasons, but because it is a verb. See Vecchio's (1989) refutation of Panhuis' ideas, as well as Elerick's (1989, 570–71) similar critique.

³⁹ Among a host of others, Iovino (2011), Salvi (2011), and Giusti and Oniga (2007).

⁴⁰ Ostafin (1986, i).

⁴¹ Gianollo (2007, 65).

⁴² Among others, Bauer (1995) and Adams (1976).

overall cohesion within this approach due to the common assumption of a normal (unmarked) syntactic word order which can be manipulated to derive various marked patterns.⁴³ Another frequent aspect of these studies is the use of quantitative and statistical analyses of syntactic patterns.⁴⁴ Indeed, much of the scholarship which examines Latin word order through the lens of syntax either foreshadows or is indebted to the pioneering work in the area of typology undertaken by Greenberg (1966a and b) and elaborated by many others.⁴⁵ While not always strictly typological in their methodology, these studies regularly engage directly or indirectly with the presuppositions of syntactical word order espoused by typology. Besides certain misgivings on my part about the pragmatic approach,⁴⁶ it is because of the facility with which such quantitative data may be compared, especially across languages, that I have considered this broadly typological approach to be the more relevant to the present investigation.

One issue which recurs in some of the literature is a lack of distinction between Latin's native word orders and those orders suffering some foreign interference,

⁴³ In addition to those already mentioned, see Cabrilla (2011), Moure Casas (2007), Lisón Huguet (2001), and Elerick (1989).

⁴⁴ This is particularly evident in the specific case studies of Yoder ([1928] 1966), Hutchins (1936), Wilkins (1940), and Heimann (1966). Heimann's work, being an examination of word order in three *Vitae* composed by Jerome, is of special interest as a point of comparison for the present study.

⁴⁵ For example, Mallinson and Blake (1981), Comrie (1981), Hawkins (1983), Harris and Campbell (1995), and Croft (2003).

⁴⁶ For example, in Panhuis' (1981) article on the position of the verb in certain passages of Caesar, he acknowledgedly cannot make his theory account for three of the twelve instances – fully a quarter – of verbs in final position. In Spevak's (2010) monograph, the claim is made that there is “absolutely no difference in placement between the copula *sum* and the existential *sum* in Latin” (180). Yet in the following pages (182–89), various tables are presented showing that in 72–77% of copulative sentences, the subject precedes the verb, and in 70% of existential sentences, the subject follows the verb. It is incomprehensible how this statistically significant variance of positions can be held to show “absolutely no difference in placement” between these two uses of the verb.

particularly in the context of translation.⁴⁷ Adams' (1976) use of the Vulgate as a witness to vulgar Latin's preference for genitives to follow their nouns is a clear example of this. Nowhere in his argument does he even consider the possibility that literalism of word order could account for this pattern in a translation from Hebrew, a language which requires the order noun–genitive.⁴⁸ Bauer (1995, 105), following Plater and White (1926), makes the exact same mistake regarding periphrastic verb phrases in the Vulgate New Testament, arguing that they exemplify the unmarked order of late Latin, while ignoring their adherence to the underlying order of the Greek source texts.

Similarly problematic is Clackson and Horrocks's (2007) discussion of word order in respect to the *Itinerarium Egeriae* (late fourth century). They find “striking” the frequency of verb-initial clauses (291) and attempt to connect the verb–subject–object pattern to the emergence of Romance languages (292), since they see this work's deviations from the Classical standard as providing “the best picture of the developments in the direction of the Romance languages in the fourth century” (290). However, while noting that Egeria, the author of the *Itinerarium*, would have looked “to the Bible as [her] measure of correct Latin, rather than to Cicero” (287), and that she may have picked up something of the Latin Bible's “relatively straightforward, pleonastic and paratactic style” (290), Clackson and Horrocks have overlooked the foreign influence of literalistic translation on the word order of that “correct Latin” – especially as the contemporary Latin Bible would have been one of the Old Latin versions (prior to Jerome's work on the

⁴⁷ Cf. Harris and Campbell's (1995, 207–209) noting of such interference in studying Gothic.

⁴⁸ See IBHS Ch. 9 for a full discussion of the genitive in Hebrew. Rife (1931, 77–8) had already pointed out this aspect of word-order literalism with genitives for Theodotion's Greek translation of the book of Daniel. For a near repetition of Adams' mistake, but with genitives in the Vulgate New Testament, see Gianollo (2007).

Vulgate) which are generally acknowledged as rigidly literalistic.⁴⁹ It seems quite possible that Egeria, whether consciously or subconsciously, altered her natural order of constituents, placing her verbs in first position,⁵⁰ so as to conform more to the biblical standard of “correct Latin”⁵¹ – a similar phenomenon to that noted by Clackson and Horrocks in the case of the Roman centurion Marcus Porcius Iasucthan (early third century AD in Libya) who clumsily imitated in his poetry the Classical preference for verbs in final position (261).⁵² It may be seen, then, that even in recent, well-researched investigations of Latin syntax, the possibility of interference from foreign elements transmitted by way of a literalistic translation technique has largely been unexamined.⁵³

Finally, as a brief aside, it must be said that some scholars have called into question the veracity of St. Jerome’s claim to have translated from the Hebrew, even suggesting that he had no significant knowledge of Hebrew at all – a charge not leveled against him by even his most vehement contemporary critics.⁵⁴ This skepticism has been

⁴⁹ See, for example, Kedar’s (1988) assessment of the Old Latin. To be clear, the Old Latin versions were translated from the Greek of the LXX, but it was in turn translated from the Hebrew, frequently preserving much of the Hebrew word order and syntax (306; see also Olofsson 2009, 105).

⁵⁰ For the placement of the Hebrew verb, see the discussion below (§ B.4) and Ch. IV.

⁵¹ Cf. Rubio’s (2009, 198–99) comments regarding the Vulgate’s influence on the syntax of Christian authors.

⁵² Clackson and Horrocks base their discussion on the work of Adams (1999) who, while noting the frequency of final verbs (123), does not bring the point as fully to bear.

⁵³ Adams (2003) deals more directly with issues of interference in bilingual situations, but his treatment of word order is scant. Interestingly, though, he does place “early Latin Bible translations” (Which?) in the category of “word-by-word renderings” (470).

⁵⁴ Rebenich (1993) discusses in some detail the charges laid by these detractors, particularly Pierre Nautin, who, in Rebenich’s words, “claims to prove that Jerome hardly knew a word of Hebrew!” (57, his exclamation). By contrast, with regard to Jerome’s contemporaries, Rebenich notes that “Rufinus – who in his bitter quarrels with his former friend hardly ever forgot to make public all of Jerome’s half-true and untrue remarks – at no time doubted that Jerome had command of Hebrew” (60). After sifting through the arguments on both sides, Rebenich concludes that “there is no denying that [Jerome] knew Hebrew” (62).

sufficiently answered on a number of occasions, most directly by Graves in his (2007) *Jerome's Hebrew Philology*, but also both directly and indirectly (i.e., with a clear assumption of Jerome's knowledge of Hebrew) by many others.⁵⁵ Fully convinced by their scholarship, I see no need to further address this topic, and I will proceed under the assumption that the translations investigated herein were in fact produced by Jerome from their original-language source texts.

B. Methodology

Taking as a basis the relative independence of the modes by which a translation may be literal,⁵⁶ this study examines the “essential” but “neglected” mode of word-order literalism (Olofsson 2009, 105) by means of a broadly typological and even statistical approach.⁵⁷ The demonstration of a word-order literalism which employs an overabundance of marked syntactic patterns in his translation of Hebrew – a quantitative Semiticism (Rubio 2009) – gives an indication of one aspect of St. Jerome's translation technique in his Vulgate renderings of selected Old Testament books. Whereas previous discussions of word order in the Vulgate have been anecdotal or impressionistic in nature,⁵⁸ or have taken no notice of Jerome's avowed distinction between the word-for-

⁵⁵ See Brown (2003, 356–7; 370); Adams (2003, 294); Rebenich (1993, 58, 62); IBHS § 1.6.3k; Kedar (1988, 315–18 and [Kedar-Kopfstein] 1968, 51–53); Burstein (1975, 12), who is nonetheless a bit begrudging in his endorsement; Barr (1967); and Smith (1891).

⁵⁶ Barr (1979); but also Tov (1981), McLay (2003), and Olofsson (2009).

⁵⁷ McLay (2003, 54–55) notes the ease of determining word-order statistics in the evaluation of a translation's literalness.

⁵⁸ Greenstein (1989), Plater and White (1926), and Condamin (1911).

word translation of Scripture and the sense-for-sense translation of other works,⁵⁹ or have taken the word order of Classical Latin as their point of comparison,⁶⁰ this study is based on quantitative data obtained from three separate corpora within St. Jerome's oeuvre: (1) a sampling of Jerome's original compositions (i.e., texts which are not translations), providing something of a control by which to accurately measure variations from his standard word order; (2) a sampling of his non-scriptural translations; and (3) a sampling of his translations of Old Testament books included in the Vulgate.

B.1. St. Jerome's Original Writings (Corpus 1)

Jerome's letters are an obvious starting point for an investigation of his natural Latin word order. For the sake of convenience, I have used the first five letters appearing in Wright's collection (LCL 262) – namely, Epistle 1, supplemented in Chapter III by Epistles 7, 14, 22, and 38 – especially as these were readily available in electronic format from Tufts University's Perseus Digital Library.⁶¹ The first of these is dated to the year 370, the second and third to 374, and the fourth and fifth to 384. Therefore, in addition to being examples of his more personal style, these letters – together with his very brief

⁵⁹ While the profession of this distinction in Epistle 57 (quoted on the first page of this chapter) is made specifically with regard to “the translation of Greek” (*interpretatione Graecorum*), it stands to reason that St. Jerome's reverence for the word order of “the Holy Scriptures” should be equally applicable to the *hebraica veritas*, and indeed his own testimony generally confirms this: “. . . however I am not at all conscious of my having changed anything of the Hebrew verity” (Prologue to [Samuel and] Kings, BSV 365; *quamquam mihi omnino conscius non sim mutasse me quippiam de hebraica veritate*); “I . . . have translated it quite accurately word for word” (Prologue to Esther, BSV 712; *Quem ego . . . verbum e verbo pressius transtuli*).

⁶⁰ García de la Fuente (1990, 1983).

⁶¹ www.perseus.tufts.edu. The critical edition of Jerome's letters appears in CSEL 54–56, as edited by Hilberg (1910–1918), and all citations are given according to that edition. Wright's collection, LCL 262, uses Hilberg's text.

prologue to his translations of several of Origen's homilies on Jeremiah and Ezekiel (381)⁶² – represent the earlier part of Jerome's career. The prologue to his *Hebraicae Quaestiones in Libro Geneseos* (389–91, hereafter *Hebraicae Quaestiones*)⁶³ shows something of his public, or even academic, style in the middle portion of his career; and the prologue to his *Commentariorum in Esaiam Libri I–XI* (hereafter *In Esaiam*) is one of his later works (410),⁶⁴ likewise academic, though addressed to his friend and disciple St. Eustochium Julia.⁶⁵ The discussion of the data from these samples is supplemented by a comparison with the findings of Heimann's (1966) study of word order in three *Vitae* composed by Jerome in 374 and 390,⁶⁶ as well as by comparison with the data from studies of word order in various other Classical and Christian authors.⁶⁷

B.2 Non-Scriptural Translations (Corpus 2)

The second corpus, representing Jerome's non-scriptural translations, comprises, in its fullest extent, five of his translations from the Greek of Origen's homilies on Jeremiah (between 375 and 381).⁶⁸ Homily 1, which is supplemented in Chapter III by

⁶² Reprinted in Marti (1974, 146–47) from GCS 33. The prologue is addressed to a friend (taken by Marti to be Vincentius) in something of an epistolary style.

⁶³ CCSL 72, edited by Antin (1959).

⁶⁴ CCSL 73, edited by Adriaen (1963).

⁶⁵ Epistle 22 is also addressed to her.

⁶⁶ According to Wright's (LCL 262, xii) chronology.

⁶⁷ Of particular interest are the studies by Yoder ([1928] 1966) on Gellius; Hutchins (1936) on Plautus and Terence; Muldowney (1937) on St. Augustine; and Wilkins (1940) on Sts. Peter Chrysologus, Maximus of Turin, Caesarius of Arles, Martin of Braga, and Gregory the Great.

⁶⁸ Jerome mentions in his prologue (see above) that these homilies were already translated some time before his translation of those on Ezekiel. Nautin (SC 232, 54) places their translation as early as 375.

Homilies 4, 5, 6, and 7, according to Jerome's ordering.⁶⁹ The Greek text of these was accessed in an electronic format through the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae,⁷⁰ while the Latin text is that of Migne's (1862) *Patrologia Graeca*.⁷¹

B.3. Old Testament Translations (Corpus 3)

The selection of texts from the Vulgate, the third corpus examined in this project, required special attention, since these translations were made over the course of many years (390–405),⁷² for different audiences, and under different conditions. Kedar (1988, 320–21) provides a fairly complete chronology of these translations and argues that Jerome progressed from more literal to less literal renderings over the course of his career as a Scripture translator. Kelly's (1975, 161–62) chronology, though less complete, is substantially the same. He also sees Jerome's later translations as being less literal than his early endeavors in the Hebrew Scriptures. Interestingly, however, Jerome's own assessment of his work, as found in some of his prologues to individual translations, is not always in agreement with Kedar's and Kelly's evaluations. As much as possible, then, a balance of the dates and the techniques employed had to be achieved.

⁶⁹ There is no extant Greek for homilies 2 and 3, which were thus passed over. Jerome disseminated his translations in an order different from that in which they appear among Origen's works. The examined homilies are numbers 1, 17, 8, 9, and 11 according to Origen's order.

⁷⁰ www.tlg.uci.edu, which, at the time of my initially accessing it, used the critical edition by Nautin (SC 232) for Homilies 1–11 in Origen's numbering, supplemented by the earlier edition of Klostermann (GCS 6) for the remaining homilies.

⁷¹ PG 13. In the absence of a more recent critical edition, I have followed Nautin's (SC 232) lead in using this older one. In those instances where an electronic version was deemed useful, since the online version by the Religion and Technology Center (phoenix.reltech.org) is merely a set of scanned images, the text was taken from the online PL (pld.chadwyck.com) and manually checked against and/or corrected to that of the PG.

⁷² Kedar (1988, 320).

The First Book of Samuel (Chapters 1–3,⁷³ supplemented in my Chapter III by the remainder of the book) provides an example of Jerome’s early translation technique.⁷⁴ Furthermore, not only do Kedar and Kelly agree that this is one of Jerome’s more literal translations,⁷⁵ but Jerome himself boasts of its fidelity in his prologue to Samuel and Kings (BSV 364–66). Both the Latin and the Hebrew texts – for this as well as the other biblical selections – were searched electronically through the BibleWorks 9 software,⁷⁶ while print editions were also consulted for various aspects.⁷⁷

Esther (Chapters 1–3, supplemented in my Chapter III by the remainder of the book as delimited by the Hebrew) serves as an example of Jerome’s later translation technique,⁷⁸ but the degree to which it may be called a literal translation requires some proving. Kelly and Kedar are both of the opinion that Jerome’s later translations took “greater liberties” (Kelly 1975, 162). In fact, Kedar goes so far as to label Jerome’s translation of Esther “a model of paraphrastic translation” (1988, 324). This is strikingly at odds with Jerome’s own statement in his prologue to the book, where he claims to have

⁷³ In the one instance of discrepancy in chapter divisions, the layout of BSV is followed. Thus, Chapter 3 of First Samuel includes 4:1 of BHS.

⁷⁴ Jerome’s version of the books of Samuel and Kings is considered by Kelly (1975, 161) to be his first translation from the Hebrew. Kedar (1988, 321) disagrees, placing the Prophets and the Psalter prior to Samuel and Kings; nonetheless, he places all of these, along with Job, in the earliest period of Jerome’s Hebrew translations (between 390 and 393).

⁷⁵ Cf. Everson’s (2008, 189) similar assessment.

⁷⁶ For the Latin, BibleWorks 9 uses the 4th edition (1994) of BSV; for the Hebrew, it uses the Westminster Leningrad Codex which is based on BHS.

⁷⁷ BSV for the Latin and BHS for the Hebrew. For example, phrase divisions, so critical for establishing the right relationship of words, were at times based on BSV’s layout *per cola et commata*, which is not displayed in BibleWorks 9.

⁷⁸ Kedar (1988, 321) and Kelly (1975, 283) both place this book among the last translated from the Hebrew by Jerome, along with the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, and Ruth (from 398 to 405).

“translated it quite accurately word for word” (BSV 712; *Quem . . . verbum e verbo pressius transtuli*) – the strongest statement of literalism in any of his prologues.⁷⁹ The present investigation affords an opportunity to resolve, at least in part, these conflicting evaluations of Jerome’s work.

The final sample of Jerome’s Vulgate translations is the book of Judith (Chapters 1–3, supplemented in my Chapter IV by Judith Chapters 4 and 5, and in my Chapter III by the remainder of the book). This book is of special interest for a variety of reasons. Kelly (1975, 284) places it after Jerome’s last translations from the Hebrew were completed (between 405 and 407), on account of the fact that Judith is not found in the Hebrew canon of Scripture and Jerome was ill-inclined to translate such apocryphal works. Indeed, it was only under pressure from his patrons that Jerome agreed to render this book from the Aramaic (or Chaldean, as he calls it),⁸⁰ a language with which he had, at best, a limited familiarity. In consequence of these circumstances, Jerome explains in his prologue that he gave the translation only so much as “one night’s work” (BSV 691; *unam lucubratiunculam*), and that his rendering is “more sense for sense than word for word” (*ibid.*; *magis sensum e sensu quam ex verbo verbum*).⁸¹ Since this is the only book whose prologue explicitly describes the translation technique as predominantly sense for

⁷⁹ Based on other evidence, Kedar (1988) argues that the preface was written “prior to, and independently of” Jerome’s translation itself (321). Kelly (1975, 284) imagines the work completed in stages at various times.

⁸⁰ See Kelly (1975, 161n34) and Jerome’s prologue to the book (BSV 691).

⁸¹ This evaluation is echoed by the editors of the *Nova Vulgata* (Catholic Church 1998), who in their *Praenotanda* explain the “special difficulty” (14; *Peculiaris difficultas*) presented by this book (along with Tobit) which “does not clearly correspond to any original-language text” (*ibid.*; *nulli plane respondet textui primigeniae linguae*).

sense,⁸² it is the chief place among Jerome's Old Testament translations to look for a word order which should be, according to his own testimony, more in keeping with his original compositions and his non-scriptural translations. The Aramaic source text not being extant, however, my evaluation will have to be based solely on a statistical comparison of the Latin of Judith with the Latin of my other selections. Such a statistical analysis, combined with attention to typological consistency, nonetheless allows for a reasonably secure judgment on the matter.

B.4. Specific Syntagms to Be Analyzed

Within each of the three corpora representing the genres investigated for this study, three aspects of word order have been analyzed. The first is the collocation of a genitive with the noun or other substantive it limits (Chapter II). The variability of position of the genitive in Latin (and Greek), itself the subject of several investigations,⁸³ can easily be contrasted with the fixed position in Hebrew (and Aramaic), where a word in the construct state is immediately followed by its genitive-equivalent.⁸⁴ A Latin translation which follows the Hebrew (or Aramaic) word order, therefore, will show a marked preference for its genitives to follow their nouns – a quantitative Semiticism.⁸⁵

⁸² The prologue to Job (BSV 731–32) describes that book's rendering as a mixture of sense-for-sense and word-for-word, offering the reader "now words, now senses, now both at once" (731; *nunc verba, nunc sensus, nunc simul utrumque*).

⁸³ E.g., Marouzeau 1:124–32, Adams (1976, 73–83), Lisón Huguet (2001, 157–85), Devine and Stephens (2006, 314–91), Spevak (2010, 265–74), and Salvi (2011, 36–40).

⁸⁴ Biblical Hebrew does not employ genitive case marking. See Ch. 9 of IBHS for a full discussion of the genitive function. For genitives in Aramaic, see Rosenthal (2006, §§ 41, 47, and 48).

⁸⁵ See Rubio (2009, 204–5); cf. Rife (1931, 77–78).

The adjectival use of demonstratives (Chapter III) is another instance where Latin and Hebrew differ in readily observable ways. Although demonstrative adjectives in Latin can be postposed to the nouns they modify, they are generally preposed.⁸⁶ Hebrew, however, regularly postposes demonstrative adjectives.⁸⁷ The preference for postposed Latin demonstratives, a marked order, in a word-for-word translation from the Hebrew would be a quantitative Semiticism.

The placement of the verb in a Latin clause, the third aspect of word order examined in this study (Chapter IV), is by far the most complex and debated.⁸⁸ Nonetheless, there is general agreement that it is a marked order for a Latin verb to be in initial position.⁸⁹ In Hebrew, by contrast, initial verbs are a regular feature of certain syntactic patterns.⁹⁰ Once again, word-order literalism in a Latin translation from the Hebrew should show the quantitative Semiticism of a higher than normal frequency of such a marked pattern. Besides this particular situation, other aspects of the placement of the verb relative to its subject and object have been investigated and are likewise discussed in Chapter IV.

⁸⁶ LHS 407; Marouzeau 1:149.

⁸⁷ IBHS §§ 17.4.1a and 17.5; GKC § 132 *a*. Aramaic is less fixed than Hebrew in the placement of its demonstratives; nonetheless, Biblical Aramaic and the Aramaic of the Targums generally postpose demonstrative adjectives (Muraoka 2015, § 14 (1); Rosenthal 2006, § 34; Stevenson [1962] 2007, § 5.10).

⁸⁸ See, for example, Salvi (2011, 30–33), Panhuis (2006, 194–96), Pinkster (1990, 168–69), Elerick (1989), Adams (1976), and Lakoff (1968, 100–101).

⁸⁹ Among others, see Devine and Stephens (2006, Ch. 2), Panhuis (2006, § 395; 1982, 146), Bauer (1995, 92–97), and Marouzeau 2:49–82.

⁹⁰ IBHS § 8.3b; GKC § 142. For Aramaic, the placement of the verb shows more variety (Rosenthal 2006, §§ 183–4; see also Yakubovich 2011, Owens and Dodsworth 2009, and Hayes 1990).

B.5. Certain Exclusions from the Data

In all of the selections analyzed, I have refrained from making anything like text-critical judgments, as that sort of evaluation is entirely outside the scope of the present study. While alternate readings which would affect my data counts have been noted, I have nonetheless adhered to the editions as published.⁹¹ All the same, there are several circumstances under which individual phrases or even larger passages have been excluded from the data. The more specific instances are discussed in their appropriate chapters, but some general parameters may profitably be laid out at this point.

In St. Jerome's original writings and his translations of Origen, the internal word order of all Scripture quotations has been excluded on the ground that these passages are not properly part of Jerome's or Origen's compositions and, therefore, not necessarily reflective of their respective habits of word order.⁹² A more complicated situation arises, however, when a quotation is incorporated into the grammar of Jerome's sentence or the Scriptures are referenced in the form of a paraphrase.⁹³ In these instances something of a judgment call has had to be made, but various syntactic considerations were relied upon

⁹¹ In citing the various editions of the Latin texts, I have taken the liberty of partially regularizing their orthography. Throughout, I have used the letter *i* for both the vowel and the consonant; whereas the letters *u* and *v* have been differentiated, such that *u* is reserved for the vowel and *v* for the consonant. Ligatures in the editions have not been employed in this text. Other considerations, such as variation in the assimilation of prefixed elements, however, have been retained according to the published editions. In punctuating the Latin and Greek, as well as my English translations, quotations within the cited texts have been uniformly marked with guillemets (« and »), instead of the italics, quotation marks, and expanded letter spacing found in the editions. For the citation of Hebrew, see the note below (§ B.6).

⁹² Cf. Ostafin (1986, 162n54) and Yoder ([1928] 1966, 8). A similar exclusion pertains to those few instances where Jerome quotes Classical or other authors. On the other hand, the dialogue of characters within a narrative (even taken as historical personages), though in the form of direct quotation, is assumed to be composed according to the syntax of the narrative's author and not reported verbatim. Therefore, such passages were included in the data.

⁹³ The various editions are less than helpful here, since they frequently omit noting such paraphrases. It is therefore possible that I myself have overlooked some reference or other.

to support such judgments. For example, when Jerome, in the prologue to his *In Esaiam*, lays out the oft-quoted syllogism, “For if, according to the apostle Paul, « Christ » is « God’s power and God’s wisdom, » and [if] he who does not know the Scriptures does not know « God’s power » and his « wisdom, » [then] ignorance of the Scriptures is ignorance of Christ,”⁹⁴ he twice references the last phrase of St. Paul’s famous declaration in First Corinthians 1:23–24,⁹⁵ “But we preach Christ crucified, a scandal to Judeans and foolishness to the nations, but to those called, both Judeans and Greeks, Christ: God’s power and God’s wisdom.”⁹⁶ Focusing on Jerome’s second reference, we find that the Latin runs thus:

- (1) (a) nescit « Dei virtutem » eius=que
 not.know:PRS.ACT.3SG God:GEN.SG power:ACC.SG he:GEN.SG=and
 « sapientiam »
 wisdom:ACC.SG
 ‘he does not know « God’s power » and his « wisdom »’
 (In Es. 12, quoting 1 Cor 1:24)
- (b) Dei virtutem et Dei sapientiam
 God:GEN.SG power:ACC.SG and God:GEN.SG wisdom:ACC.SG
 ‘God’s power and God’s wisdom’ (1 Cor 1:24)

Jerome’s paraphrase (1a) has remained syntactically quite close to the source (1b),

⁹⁴ “Si enim iuxta apostolum Paulum Christus Dei virtus est Deique sapientia; et qui nescit scripturas, nescit Dei virtutem eiusque sapientiam, ignoratio scripturarum, ignoratio Christi est” (In Es. 10).

⁹⁵ The second reference is meant to invoke Matt 22:29 (which Jerome has just quoted in the previous sentence), “You err, not knowing the Scriptures nor the power of God” (BSV: erratis nescientes scripturas neque virtutem Dei), but the language of the phrase in question is clearly that of Paul. NB: unless otherwise noted, quotations from the Latin Bible are according to BSV.

⁹⁶ In the Latin: “nos autem praedicamus Christum crucifixum / Iudaeis quidem scandalum / gentibus autem stultitiam / ipsis autem vocatis Iudaeis atque Graecis / Christum Dei virtutem et Dei sapientiam.”

merely substituting the genitive pronoun *eius* for the second instance of the genitive noun *Dei* and changing the conjunction *et* for its enclitic synonym *-que*. When collecting data on genitives, therefore, this phrase was excluded, since the relative orders of the genitives and the nouns they limit has remained the same as in the scriptural source.

A similar set of exclusions involves what might be called stock phrases. These are phrases which are distinctive of the Scriptures or liturgy, but which are deployed without reference to any particular source.

- (2) (a) ἀρχιερεύς
chief.priest:NOM.SG
'chief priest' or 'high priest' (Hom. 1.12.12)
- (b) princeps sacerdotum
chief:NOM.SG priest:GEN.PL
'chief of priests' or 'high priest' (Hom. 1.12, 267 D)
- (3) (a) εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων
into the:ACC.PL age:ACC.PL the:GEN.PL age:GEN.PL
'into the ages of the ages' or 'for even and ever' (Hom. 1.16.58)
- (b) in saecula saeculorum
into age:ACC.PL age:GEN.PL
'into [the] ages of [the] ages' or 'for even and ever' (Hom. 1.16, 275 C)

As regular terms for a Jewish high priest, the Greek of (2a) and its Latin rendering (2b) appear in both the Old and New Testaments. As (2) stands in Origen's homily, however, it is not a quotation of any particular passage of Scripture.⁹⁷ Likewise, the common

⁹⁷ Despite the fact that Nautin (SC 232, 220) encloses the single Greek word in quotation marks and cites Heb 2:17 as its source, this common scriptural term cannot in any meaningful way be considered a quotation, since the entire rest of its context has been altered. Origen's justification for calling Christ a high priest may have its roots in Heb 2:17, but his language does not.

phrase for eternity in (3), together with some variations on it, is found in the Bible. In the concluding doxology of Origen's homily, it may be a quotation of First Peter 4:11 as Nautin (SC 232, 236) suggests;⁹⁸ but that sort of doxology, and more particularly the phrase in question (εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων), seems to have already become a fixture in Christian liturgy and preaching, and so Origen may not have had a scriptural source in mind.⁹⁹ In any event, (2) and (3) can fairly be considered stock phrases, and thus the word order of their genitives was excluded from the data.

In addition to these original instances of quotation and allusion on the part of the ancient authors, a peculiar species of intertextuality has arisen between texts and their translations on account of the work of text critics. In particular, Klostermann (GCS 6) and, following him, Nautin (SC 232) have in several instances edited the Greek of Origen's homilies so as to accord with Jerome's Latin translations, under the principle that the Latin can be used as a witness to an earlier and more authentic reading of the Greek. This is well and good when it comes to text criticism; but, for my purposes, it is a bit circular to compare St. Jerome's Latin translation of Origen to a Greek text which has been back-translated from the Latin. Although text criticism is, once again, outside the scope of my own endeavor, I have made every effort to exclude such corrupted data where it is noted by the editors. If some few of these or other similar corruptions have found their way into the data despite my vigilance, it is reassuring to remember that the validity of a statistical analysis such as the present one lies not in the merit of any single

⁹⁸ Note, however, that Nautin (SC 232, 236) does not use quotation marks for this passage, even though the whole doxological clause is identical to that in 1 Pet 4:11.

⁹⁹ Indeed, Origen's own regular use of this doxology to conclude his homilies argues for its status as a stock phrase. Cf. Jungmann ([1951] 1986) for the use of this phrase both in the liturgy (383n39) and in the doxological conclusions of early homilies (461n39).

datum, but in the collective weight of the evidence.

B.6. A Note on the Transcription of Hebrew

As stated above (§ B.5), the citation of texts in this study generally follows the various published editions, which for the Hebrew Bible means that of *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS). Although originally the Hebrew text of the Bible would have recorded only the consonants (IBHS § 1.6), BHS presents a critical edition of the Masoretic Text, which includes vowel points (as well as other signs). In keeping with my intention not to enter into text criticism of my own, all of these signs have been accepted as they stand in BHS. Therefore, vowels have been included in my transcriptions.¹⁰⁰

In order to observe a consistent left-to-right direction in the transcription and glossing of all the examined texts in each of the three languages, Hebrew texts have been transliterated according to the “Academic Style” proposed in *The SBL Handbook of Style*, 2nd edition (§ 5.1.1).¹⁰¹ Though introducing a measure of awkwardness for the student of Hebrew, this was considered to be more convenient when comparing the word orders of texts across languages.

¹⁰⁰ As an exception to this practice, the vowels superimposed on the Tetragrammaton in the Masoretic Text have been omitted, since they do not properly belong to that word.

¹⁰¹ Cf. IBHS p. xiii.

CHAPTER II – GENITIVES

A. Morphosyntactic Considerations

There is a wide variety of strategies which languages employ to show that one noun limits another with respect to its “membership” – as Marouzeau says of his “complément déterminatif” – “in a group, category, or species” (1:124).¹ Within English we can observe the use of the erstwhile case suffix *'s* in the phrase *the car's door*, the preposition *of* in the phrase *the door of the car*, and simple ordered juxtaposition in the phrase *the car door*.²

A.1. Latin Genitives

The primary means of showing this relationship in Latin is the genitive case, which regularly makes use of case suffixes, more or less differentiated by declensional paradigm. Relying on Latin's rich system of overt case marking, the Latin genitive may appear either after or before the noun (or other substantive)³ it limits.

¹ “. . . l'appartenance à un groupe, à une catégorie, à une espèce.” Marouzeau is, of course, specifically discussing the use of the genitive case in Latin (cf. Heimann 1966, 50). Croft (2003, 32–42) provides a fuller picture of this variety as pertains to the possessive construction.

² Croft (2003, 38–39) notes that the *'s* in English is actually an enclitic “linker” derived from the Old English genitive suffix, but now allowing for a phrase like *the car on the left's door*, where the linker is displaced from the possessive noun proper. Its origin as a case suffix, however, is more relevant to the matter of this chapter.

³ Throughout this discussion, the term *noun* will be taken to include any word used substantively.

A.2. Greek Genitives

In the Greek of Origen's homilies, the use of the genitive case is very similar to that of Latin; nonetheless, the existence of a definite article in Greek adds another dimension to the issue of word order which must be addressed. Specifically, when a noun takes the definite article, Greek grammars identify an attributive position and a predicate position for words which in some way modify that noun (Smyth §§ 1154 and 1168; BDF § 270), including for genitives (Smyth §§ 1161 and 1295 b; BDF § 271). These two positions are distinguished by whether or not an article indexing⁶ the modified noun appears before the genitive or other modifier.⁷

- (4) οἱ λόγοι τοῦ θεοῦ
 the:NOM.PL word:NOM.PL the:GEN.SG God:GEN.SG
 'the words of (the) God' (Hom. 1.16.1)
- (5) οἱ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγοι
 the:NOM.PL the:GEN.SG God:GEN.SG word:NOM.PL
 'the words of (the) God' (Hom. 1.16.6)
- (6) τῷ ἔθνει τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ
 the:DAT.SG nation:DAT.SG the:DAT.SG the:GEN.SG God:GEN.SG
 'to the nation of (the) God' (Hom. 1.14.56)

Since in (4) the genitive τοῦ θεοῦ is not immediately preceded by an article indexing the noun it limits, λόγοι, it is considered to be in the predicate position. By contrast, in (5) and (6) the genitive is immediately preceded by an article which indexes the noun being

⁶ On the difference between indexation and agreement, Croft notes: "The term agreement . . . implies that there is a phrase in the utterance that is 'agreed with' . . . that is necessarily present. In fact, it often is not, and so the term **indexation** will be used here" (2003, 34, his bold). For an example of the Greek article indexing a noun which is not present, see (41) below.

⁷ In the absence of a definite article, these two positions are not distinguished.

limited, and is therefore in the attributive position. This is achieved in (5) by inserting the genitive τοῦ θεοῦ between λόγοι and its article οἱ; in (6) the attributive position is obtained by repeating the article τῶ, which indexes the noun ἔθνει, before the genitive phrase.

Although the predicate position of a non-genitive modifier can approximate true predication (Smyth § 1169), the roughly interchangeable use of (4) and (5) by Origen confirms that the predicate position of genitives is minimally different from the attributive and does not entail such predication (cf. Smyth § 1161; BDF § 271).⁸ Therefore, in order to facilitate comparison with Latin, which has no articles, the distinction engendered by the use of the Greek article to denote attributive and predicate positions of genitives has yielded in the collection of data for this study to the more salient ordering of the noun in the genitive case relative to the noun it limits – the only feature of Greek’s genitive word order which Latin can literalistically imitate. That is, for the Latin translator attempting to reproduce the word order of the Greek, it is to the order of the nouns themselves (the genitive noun and the noun it limits) that he must look,

⁸ The predicate position described here must be distinguished from genitives appearing in the sentential predicate with an explicit copula (cf. Smyth § 1303; BDF introduction to the genitive case):

(a) ἡ «ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμμον» οἰκοδομὴ τοῦ διαβόλου
 the:NOM.SG upon the:ACC.SG sand:ACC.SG building:NOM.SG the:GEN.SG devil:GEN.SG
 ἐστίν
 be:PRS.3SG
 ‘the building « upon the sand » is **the devil’s**’ (Hom. 1.15.2)

Here the genitive τοῦ διαβόλου is part of a sentential predication with the verb ἐστίν.

regardless of the relationship established by their articles.⁹ Consequently, despite the fact that the genitive of (7) is in predicate position and that of (8) is in attributive position, the order of the constituents in both examples is counted as GN.¹⁰

(7) τῶν οὐρανῶν τῇ βασιλείᾳ
 the:GEN.PL heaven:GEN.PL the:DAT.SG kingdom:DAT.SG
 ‘(to) the kingdom of the heavens’ (Hom. 1.14.55)

(8) τὰς τοῦ διαβόλου βασιλείας
 the:ACC.PL the:GEN.SG devil:GEN.SG kingdom:ACC.PL
 ‘the kingdoms of the devil’ (Hom. 1.7.20)

⁹ Cf. the Vulgate version of John 1:1, where the literalistic Latin rendering of the third clause (a2) has mimicked the inverted word order of the Greek (a1) without any ability in the Latin to indicate this inversion.

(a) (1) καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος
 and God:NOM.SG be:IPF.3SG the:NOM.SG word:NOM.SG
 ‘and the Word was God’ (John 1:1)

(2) et Deus erat Verbum
 and God:NOM.SG be:IPF.3SG word:NOM.SG
 ‘and God was the Word’ or ‘and the Word was God’ (John 1:1)

It is only the presence of the article ὁ in the Greek which indicates that λόγος is to be favored as subject over the anarthrous θεός (Smyth § 1150; BDF §§ 270 and 273). The Latin, however, has no way to follow this Greek subtlety. Interestingly, the identical problem occurs in the Rhemes New Testament of 1582, which renders this clause, “and God was the Word” (Rogers 1975, 216), leaving the explanation of its inversion to the “Annotations” section (219).

¹⁰ It may be supposed that the reordering of constituents in a Latin translation from the Greek shows the freedom of the translator’s word order as an attempt to reflect a more subtle understanding of the Greek.

(a) regna diaboli
 kingdom:ACC.PL devil:GEN.SG
 ‘the kingdoms of the devil’ (Hom. 1.7, 262 C)

If one accepts the assertion by Marouzeau (1:124–25) and others that NG is the natural order in Latin, then Jerome’s Latin translation (a) of Origen’s text in (8) may indicate his perception of the Greek attributive position as similarly unmarked. (Yet Jerome’s contrary practice, translating identically ordered Greek phrases by a GN order in Latin, is also evidenced in this same translation.) Given the various possible influences on the ordering of a Latin genitive, however, such speculation cannot be proven in any single instance (cf. Salvi 2011, 38).

Bearing this in mind, we observe that Greek, much as Latin, can present both NG and GN orders, as in (9) and (10) respectively:

- (9) ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων
 in the:DAT.PL soul:DAT.PL the:GEN.PL man:GEN.PL
 ‘in the souls of (the) men’ (Hom. 1.7.11)
- (10) ἀνθρώπων γλώσσαις
 man:GEN.PL tongue:DAT.PL
 ‘to men’s tongues’ (Hom. 1.8.33)

Furthermore, as in Latin, Greek’s genitives can also be separated from the nouns they limit:

- (11) Ἑβραίων, φέρε εἰπεῖν, φωνήν
 Hebrew:GEN.PL grant:PRS.IMP.SG say:AOR.INF voice:ACC.SG
 ‘the voice, let us say, of the Hebrews’ (Hom. 1.8.28)

In (11) the parenthetical comment φέρε εἰπεῖν is inserted between the genitive Ἑβραίων and its noun φωνήν. Thus, all of the possible orders of a genitive and its noun¹¹ are equally available to Latin and Greek.¹²

¹¹ For the sake of brevity, it does not seem necessary to exemplify both the N_G and G_N orders for each language (where the underscore denotes some word or words inserted between the genitive and its noun), as these are merely variants of the examples already discussed. The more limited distribution of pronominal genitives in the data for this study (addressed below) does not impinge on the overall freedom of placement in these languages.

¹² This is not to say, of course, that these orders are equally distributed in the two languages.

Greek and from the Hebrew, argues against their being in an overly fixed position.

- (19) (a) καὶ χρῶμαι **αὐτοῦ** τῆ φωνῆ
 and use:PRS.SBJV.MID.1SG he:GEN.SG the:DAT.SG voice:DAT.SG
 μαρτυροῦντος, ὅτι . . .
 witness:PRS.ACT.PTCP.GEN.SG that:CONJ
 ‘and let me use the voice of him witnessing that . . .’ (Hom. 1.8.11)
- (b) Utamur voce **eius** quomodo . . .
 use:PRS.SBJV.DPNT.1PL voice:ABL.SG he:GEN.SG how
 ‘Let us use his voice how . . .’ (Hom.1.8, 263 C)
- (20) (a) τὴν δύναμιν **αὐτοῦ**
 the:ACC.SG power:ACC.SG he:GEN.SG
 ‘his power’ (Hom. 1.8.17)
- (b) **eius** virtutem
 he:GEN.SG power:ACC.SG
 ‘his power’ (Hom. 1.8, 263 C)
- (21) (a) wəneḥtām bəṭabba‘at **hammelek**
 and:seal:PASS.PTCP with:signet.ring:CST.SG the:king:ABS.SG
 ‘and sealed with the king’s signet ring’ (Esth 3:12)
- (b) et litterae **ipsius** signatae anulo
 and letter:NOM.PL he:GEN.SG seal:PRF.PASS.PTCP.NOM.PL ring:ABL.SG
 ‘and the letter sealed with his ring’¹⁸ (Esth 3:12)

In his rendering of Origen’s homily, both possible reversals of word order are found in Jerome’s placement of pronominal genitives, that is, from GN to NG (19) and from NG to GN (20). In example (21), not only has the Latin pronoun *ipsius* been substituted for the Hebrew noun phrase *hammelek*, but the placement of that pronoun has been significantly altered from the NG order of the Hebrew to G_N in the Latin (the

¹⁸ The plural Latin *litterae* means ‘letters (of the alphabet)’ and thence ‘letter’ or ‘epistle’.

underscore signifying the intervening word *signatae*).¹⁹

It should additionally be noted that pronouns in the genitive case, contrary to the impression given by some scholars, are not limited to the possessive function,²⁰ but in fact manifest other uses of the genitive case.

- (22) **uterque** **eorum**
 each:NOM.SG he:GEN.PL
 ‘each of them’ (Esth 2:23)
- (23) (a) τοὺς ἀξίους τῆς γνώσεως
 the:ACC.PL.M worthy:ACC.PL.M the:GEN.SG.F knowledge:GEN.SG.F
αὐτοῦ ἐπίσταται ὁ θεός
 he:GEN.SG.M know:PRS.MID.3SG the:NOM.SG.M God:NOM.SG.M
 ‘(the) God knows those worthy of his knowledge’ (Hom. 1.10.22)
- (b) An eos tantum scit Deus qui
 Or he:ACC.PL only know:PRS.ACT.3SG God:NOM.SG who:NOM.PL
 scientia **eius** digni sunt . . . ?
 knowledge:ABL.SG he:GEN.SG worthy:NOM.PL be:PRS.3PL
 ‘Or does God know only those who are worthy of his knowledge . . . ?’
(Hom. 1.10, 267 A)
- (24) in defensionem **sui**
 in defense:ACC.SG himself:GEN.SG
 ‘in defense of himself’ (HQQ 1.4)

The pronoun *eorum* (22) is a partitive genitive or genitive of the whole (LHS 52–59; HBLG § 346).²¹ In (23) the pronouns *αὐτοῦ* and *eius* are subjective genitives (Smyth

¹⁹ Although *ipsius* could be taken as limiting *litterae* instead of *anulo*, the underlying Hebrew (21a) argues for the present reading. The intertwined word order of the whole phrase is something of a flourish on Jerome’s part.

²⁰ See, for example, Wilkins (1940, 49n6 and 68–69) and Heimann (1966, Ch. V).

²¹ For Greek, see Smyth §§ 1306–19; BDF § 164.

§§ 1328–30 [cf. BDF § 183]; LHS 65–66; HBLG § 344),²² while the reflexive pronoun *sui* in (24) is an objective genitive (LHS 65, 66–67; HBLG § 354).²³

The richness of pronominal usage, both syntactically and semantically, argues in favor of the inclusion of pronominal genitives among the data of the present study; nonetheless, it has seemed best to treat the counts of pronominal genitives separately from those of nominal genitives, following the precedent of other scholars (e.g., García de la Fuente 1983 and Lisón Huguet 2001). Thus, for each corpus the data on nominal and pronominal genitives have been kept distinct and presented in separate tabulation.

C. Delimitation of the Data Collected

As may be observed from the above descriptions of each language’s genitival constructions, the cross-linguistic variation is such that no perfect correspondence of expression exists among Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Since the focus of my investigation is on St. Jerome’s use of the Latin genitive case, I have made no attempt to systematically deal with all of the parallel structures in my Greek and Hebrew texts. Only those Greek and Hebrew constructions that have a direct bearing on the Latin genitives were considered.

For Hebrew, which has no overt case marking of genitives, this has meant that no separate reckoning of genitives has been attempted. Instead, the number of instances in which a genitive in the Latin translation corresponds to a genitive equivalent in the

²² On the correctness of reading αὐτοῦ as a subjective genitive, and not an objective one, cf. Nautin’s rendering: “il connaît ceux qui sont dignes d’être connus de lui” (SC 232, 219).

²³ For Greek, see Smyth §§ 1328, 1331–35; BDF § 163.

Hebrew text has been counted.

- (25) (a) $\hat{u}\check{s}m=\hat{o}$
 and:name:CST.SG=3SG.M
 ‘and his name’ (1 Sam 1:1)
- (b) et nomen **eius**
 and name:NOM.SG he:GEN.SG
 ‘and his name’ (1 Sam 1:1)
- (26) (a) $m\bar{e}^{\prime}\hat{i}r=\hat{o}$
 from:city:CST.SG=3SG.M
 ‘from his city’ (1 Sam 1:3)
- (b) de civitate **sua**
 from city:ABL.SG his:ABL.SG
 ‘from his city’ (1 Sam 1:3)

In (25) the Latin use of the genitive pronoun *eius* has been counted and reckoned as equivalent to the Hebrew pronominal suffix *-ô*. However, when the same Hebrew suffix is rendered by the Latin reflexive possessive adjective (26),²⁴ both the Latin and the Hebrew are passed over in the data, since there is no genitive in the Latin.²⁵

Greek, on the other hand, due to its system of case suffixes, has been counted on its own merits, regardless of the Latin rendering.

²⁴ Hebrew has no separate reflexive forms (IBHS § 16.4g).

²⁵ Possessive adjectives, though semantically similar, are morphosyntactically distinct from genitive pronouns. Besides this third person reflexive possessive adjective, Latin also uses adjectival forms for first and second person possessives, whether they are reflexive or not, instead of genitive pronouns (LHS 61; HBLG § 339a). Several instances of Hebrew pronominal suffixes, therefore, were left uncounted, as there was no genitive in the Latin.

ordering of genitives and the nouns they limit.³⁰

D.2. Genitives Lacking an Overt Noun

A similar problem is encountered with genitives lacking an overt noun. Among these are genitives appearing in the sentential predicate (Smyth § 1303; HBLG § 340):³¹

- (37) (a) ἡ «ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμμον» οἰκοδομὴ τοῦ
 the:NOM.SG upon the:ACC.SG sand:ACC.SG building:NOM.SG the:GEN.SG
 διαβόλου ἐστίν
 devil:GEN.SG be:PRS.3SG
 ‘the building « upon the sand » is the devil’s’ (Hom. 1.15.2)
- (b) quod super arenam exstruitur, hoc
 what:NOM.SG upon sand:ACC.SG build:PRS.PASS.3SG this:NOM.SG
 Zabuli est
 devil:GEN.SG be:PRS.3SG
 ‘what is built upon the sand, this is the Devil’s’ (Hom. 1.15, 274 A)

In (37a)³² the genitive τοῦ διαβόλου could be said to limit an understood or elliptical noun ἡ οἰκοδομὴ repeated from the subject, thus: ‘the building « upon the sand » is the

³⁰ In this category of excluded genitives would also be Greek’s articular infinitive of purpose (Smyth § 1408, 2032e; BDF § 400). However, none appeared in the selections examined for this chapter except in quoted material, which was already excluded according to the rationale presented in Chapter I.

(a) ὅτι μετὰ σοῦ εἰμι τοῦ ἐξαίρεισθαί σε
 for with thou:GEN.SG be:PRES.1SG the:GEN.SG deliver:PRS.MID.INF thou:ACC.SG
 ‘for I am with thee to deliver thee’ (Hom. 1.13.22, quoting Jer 1:8)

Here the genitive articular infinitive τοῦ ἐξαίρεισθαί expresses the purpose of the verb phrase μετὰ σοῦ εἰμι.

³¹ As noted above (n. 8), the genitives under consideration here are significantly different from those which appear in the so-called predicate position according to the usage of Greek articles.

³² First presented in n. 8 above.

- (39) in quo maiorum nostrorum ingenia
 on which:ABL.SG greater:GEN.PL our:GEN.PL genius:NOM.PL
 sudaverunt, **Graecorum** dico
 sweat:PRF.ACT.3PL Greek:GEN.PL mean:PRS.ACT.1SG
 ‘on which the geniuses of our ancestors sweated, the Greeks, I mean’
 (In Es. 81)
- (40) qui fuit nutricius filiae fratris
 who:NOM.SG be:PRF.3SG caregiver:NOM.SG daughter:GEN.SG brother:GEN.SG
 sui **Edessae**
 his:GEN.SG Edessa:GEN.SG
 ‘who was the caregiver of his brother’s daughter Edessa’
 (Esth 2:7)

The accompaniment of the genitive appositive *Graecorum* in (39) by the parenthetical verb *dico* sets this genitive in a quasi-predicate role,³⁴ drawing closer the comparison with (37) and (38). The simple apposition of *Edessae* to *filiae* in (40) is less akin to predicate genitives, yet just as unsuitable in its lack of an overt noun.

The most interesting case in this second category is that afforded by Greek’s manipulation of the definite article (Smyth §§ 1299–1302; BDF § 266).

- (41) οὐ προκόψει τὰ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας
 not advance:FUT.ACT.3SG the:NOM.PL.N the:GEN.SG.F captivity:GEN.SG.F
 ‘the [things] of the captivity will not advance’³⁵ (Hom. 1:3:16)

The article τὰ in (41) has been deployed without any overt noun to which the genitive τῆς

³⁴ Cf. the rendering of Smyth’s last example of apposition in Greek (§ 916) for a similar blending of appositive and predicate genitives.

³⁵ Greek grammar tolerates neuter plural subjects taking singular verbs (Smyth § 958; BDF § 133).

αἰχμαλωσίας has been attached.³⁶ Since, as discussed above (§ A.2), the order of constituents in this study is determined by the order of the substantives regardless of the attributive/predicate implications of the article, it is impossible to determine an order in instances like this. The stranded article could imply a noun before the genitive (42a) or after it (42b).³⁷

- (42) (a) τὰ [noun] τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας
 the:NOM.PL.N [noun]:NOM.PL.N the:GEN.SG.F captivity:GEN.SG.F
- (b) τὰ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας [noun]
 the:NOM.PL.N the:GEN.SG.F captivity:GEN.SG.F [noun]:NOM.PL.N

Furthermore, it is quite possible that no particular noun was imagined by the author, and that “this is almost a mere periphrasis for the thing itself” (Smyth § 1299). That is, ‘the [things] of the captivity’ may mean nothing more than ‘the captivity’.

D.3. Genitives in Fixed Expressions

The third category of exclusions comprises those genitives whose order might be called grammatically fixed (whether syntactically or pragmatically), as well as those that are idiomatically fixed, that is, by convention.

³⁶ See Croft (2003, 34), noted above (n. 6), for comments on indexation with non-overt elements.

³⁷ Cf. examples (4) and (5) respectively.

- (43) mense primo **cuius** vocabulum est nisan
 month:ABL.SG first:ABL.SG who:GEN.SG name:NOM.SG be:PRS.3SG Nisan
 ‘in the first month whose name is Nisan’ (Esth 3:7)
- (44) **Cuius** rei nuper quoque fecimus
 which:GEN.SG matter:GEN.SG recently also make:PRF.ACT.1PL
 mentionem.
 mention:ACC.SG
 ‘Of which matter we also recently made mention.’ (Hom. 1.13, 270 B)
- (45) (a) εἰ θέλεις δὲ ἰδεῖν, **τίνοϛ** εἰσὶ
 if wish:PRS.ACT.2SG but see:AOR.ACT.INF who:GEN.SG be:PRS.3PL
 φυτεῖαι οἱ τοιοῦτοι διαλογισμοί
 planting:NOM.PL.F the:NOM.PL.M such:NOM.PL.M consideration:NOM.PL.M
 ‘but if you wish to see whose plantings such considerations are’ (Hom. 1.14.43)
- (b) Si autem vis scire **cuius**
 if but wish:PRS.ACT.2SG know:PRS.ACT.INF who:GEN.SG
 sit plantatio istiusmodi cogitatus
 be:PRS.SBJV.3SG planting:NOM.SG that.kind:GEN.SG thought:NOM.SG
 ‘But if you wish to know whose planting such a thought is’ (Hom. 1.14, 271 C)

When a relative pronoun (43) or relative adjective (44) is in the genitive case, the typical grammatical placement of the relative word at the beginning of its clause all but requires the order GN,³⁸ whether the noun immediately follows the genitive, as *vocabulum* follows *cuius* in (43), or is displaced from the genitive by several words, as *mentionem* is from *Cuius rei* in (44). Interrogatives are likewise fixed to the beginning of their clauses, as *τίνοϛ* (45a) and *cuius* (45b).³⁹ The grammatical fixedness of these pronouns and

³⁸ See HBLG § 624.8 and Lisón Huguet (2001, 182). The position of the Latin relative pronoun later in its clause, as is occasionally found in poetry and highly poetic or rhetorical prose, must be seen as the exception to this general rule (cf. HBLG §§ 625–26). For Greek, see Smyth § 2489.

³⁹ For Greek, see Smyth § 2642; for Latin, see HBLG § 624.7.

adjectives renders their GN order a matter of course, not choice,⁴⁰ and therefore unsuitable for this investigation (*pace* Muldowney 1937, 58).⁴¹

Idiomatic fixture, broadly speaking, includes true idioms such as the Greek ἔργον ἐστὶ + genitive ‘there is need of’ (46) (LSJ s.v. ἔργον), as well as any fixed collocation.

- (46) Ἔργον ἐστὶ τῶν λόγων τοῦ θεοῦ
 need:NOM.SG be:PRS.3SG the:GEN.PL word:GEN.PL the:GEN.SG God:GEN.SG
 ‘There is need of the words of (the) God’ (Hom. 1.14.35)
- (47) patrem=familias
 father:ACC.SG=household:GEN.SG
 ‘head of the household’ (In Es. 15)
- (48) in Cantico canticorum
 in canticle:ABL.SG canticle:GEN.PL
 ‘in the Canticle of Canticles’ (In Es. 17)

The Latin *patremfamilias* (47), though often written as a single word, is actually a phrase, as can be seen by the quasi-internal declension of the noun *pater* before the unchanging archaic genitive *familias* (HBLG § 66.1; LS s.v. *familia*). Nonetheless, the word order of this phrase is largely fixed.⁴² The genitive *canticorum* in (48), being part of the title of a

⁴⁰ The same would be true for the NG order in an instance where the pronoun itself was limited by a genitive (e.g., “which of the names?”).

⁴¹ Hebrew pronominal suffixes are likewise fixed, but they were not given their own count. Rather, the number of times a Latin genitive reflected the underlying order of the Hebrew source text was counted.

⁴² LS gives a few instances of the reversed word order, but the exceptional status of these is confirmed by the very fact that they are introduced as “inverted” (s.v. *familia*).

book of the Bible, must be seen as fixed in its position.⁴³ In each of these instances, the fixed order of the words precludes its usefulness to the present investigation.

E. Data and Commentary

Despite the foregoing restrictions on what data were accepted, genitives were plentiful in each of the three corpora studied.⁴⁴ The total number of genitives counted in each corpus and their text frequencies per 1000 words are found in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 *Total number of genitives counted and their text frequencies*

		Nominal Genitives	Approx. Freq. per 1000 words	Pronominal Genitives	Approx. Freq. per 1000 words
Corpus 1	Lt	122	42	10	3
Corpus 2	Lt	85	22	20	5
	Gr	82	20	21	5
Corpus 3	Lat	228	57	52	13

⁴³ Though similar in appearance, the actual fixedness of genitives connected to the names of people – whether the family genitive (Gildersleeve § 362 n. 1) denoting other persons to whom they are connected (a), or the so-called chorographic genitive (ibid. n. 2) denoting one’s locale (b) – is not so strict. That is, the order of such phrases is not clearly fixed by either grammar, as with the relative pronoun, or idiom, as with the title of a book (note the variance of order among Gildersleeve’s examples of the family genitive). Therefore, the few that appeared were counted.

(a) Eusebius quoque Pamphili
Eusebius:NOM.SG also Pamphilus:GEN.SG
‘also Eusebius of Pamphilus’ (In Es. 91)

(b) Auxentium Mediolanii
Auxentius:ACC.SG Milan:GEN.SG
‘Auxentius of Milan’ (Ep. 1.15.2)

⁴⁴ **Corpus 1: Original Writings** = Jerome’s Epistle 1 (Perseus; LCL 262; CSEL 54); the prologue to Jerome’s translation of Origen’s homilies on Ezekiel [and Jeremiah] (Marti 1974, from GCS 33); and the prologues to *Hebraicae Quaestiones* (CCSL 72) and *In Esaiam* (CCSL 73). **Corpus 2: Non-Scriptural Translation** = Jerome’s translation (PG 13) of Origen’s Homily 1 on Jeremiah, correlated with the Greek (TLG; SC 232). **Corpus 3: Old Testament Translations** = Jerome’s translations of First Samuel 1–3, Esther 1–3, and Judith 1–3 (BibleWorks 9; BSV), correlated with the Hebrew of First Samuel 1–3 (including the first clause of 4:1, following the Latin) and Esther 1–3 (BibleWorks 9; BHS).

The following paragraphs provide an initial look at the raw data and some of the details of their textual sources. The broader statistical analysis of the data is taken up afterwards.

E.1. Genitive Nouns in Corpus 1

A summary of the data on genitive nouns in Corpus 1, Jerome's original writings, is presented in Table 2.2.⁴⁵

Table 2.2 *Genitive nouns in Corpus 1 (original writings)*

	GN	G_N	NG	N_G
Ep. 1	19	9	14	2
Prol. Hom.	6	1	3	1
Prol. HQG	8	6	16	0
Prol. In Es.	13	1	19	4
Total	46	17	52	7
%	37.70	13.93	42.62	5.74

Each of the four possible word orders is present in this corpus. Moreover, the distribution of preposed genitives (GN and G_N) versus postposed genitives (NG and N_G) is roughly equal (51.64% and 48.36% respectively).⁴⁶ Such an even distribution is not only in keeping with norms observed from Classical Latinity (Lisón Huguet 2001, 160) to the

⁴⁵ The underscore in the categories G_N and N_G represents some intervening word(s). However, the following should be noted: (a) where N is modified by an adjective (including the Greek article), that adjective is not counted as intervening material; (b) postpositive, enclitic, and coordinating conjunctions and adverbs (autem, enim, etiam, igitur, quam, -que, quidem, quoque, tam, vero, γάρ, δέ, μέντοιγε, οὖν, τοῖνυν) are not counted as intervening material; (c) negatives are not counted as intervening material; (d) all other words are counted as intervening material.

⁴⁶ Composite percentages are calculated from the raw counts and, because of discrepancies due to rounding, may be one hundredth of a percentage point higher (as here) or lower than would be expected from simply adding the percentages previously reported.

sixth century (Wilkins 1940, 49),⁴⁷ but is also consistent with the distribution observed in three *Vitae* composed by St. Jerome (Heimann 1966, 50).⁴⁸

Of particular note is the high frequency with which the genitive is separated from its noun (G_N and N_G), often with the verb intervening. This classic technique known as hyperbaton (LHS 689–94) is a favorite of Jerome’s.⁴⁹

- (49) subito **feminae** palpitat **pectus**
 suddenly woman:GEN.SG palpitate:PRS.ACT.3SG breast:NOM.SG
 ‘suddenly the woman’s breast palpitates’ (Ep. 1.12.2)
- (50) **sacramentum** frustraverat **trinitatis**
 sacrament:NOM.SG make.useless:PRF.ACT.3SG Trinity:GEN.SG
 ‘the sacrament [i.e. sign] of the Trinity made [it] useless’ (Ep. 1.8.2)

The relative freedom of placement of the Latin genitive is underscored by the fact that nearly one in five genitives from Corpus 1 manifests a separation from its noun similar to that of examples (49) and (50).

E.2. Genitive Pronouns in Corpus 1

Pronominal genitives are far less numerous in Corpus 1 (a total of 10 pronouns

⁴⁷ See also Cabrillana’s (2011) summary of data from other studies appearing as her Table 3 (73), as well as her discussion (74). Wilkins (1940, 49), while arguing for a “normal post-position” of genitives, presents data showing the same even distribution (49.14% GN to 50.86% NG) in the fifth and sixth century sermons she examines (see Croft [2003, 43–44], following Dryer [1989, 70–71], regarding the establishment of a “basic” word order).

⁴⁸ Heimann’s data show 45.91% GN to 54.09% NG. His assessment of Jerome’s usage in this respect is that it is “in perfect conformity to that of the best representatives of Latin literature” (1966, 57).

⁴⁹ In the particular instance of hyperbaton with genitives, LHS notes: “Die Spaltung des Genitivs vom übergeordneten Subst. findet sich in der ganzen Latinität und verdient nur in Fällen einer weiten Sperrung erwähnt zu werden” (692). For an example of such “wide spacing,” see (3) above.

versus 122 nominal genitives), and are therefore less substantial as evidence of Jerome's native word order. Nonetheless, their corroborative value is worth noting. For example, in further support of the relatively even distribution of preposed and postposed nominal genitives discussed above, the distribution of preposed and postposed genitive pronouns is exactly fifty–fifty, as shown in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3 *Genitive pronouns in Corpus 1 (original writings)*

	GN	G_N	NG	N_G
Ep. 1	1	0	0	0
Prol. Hom.	1	0	0	0
Prol. HQG	1	2	3	0
Prol. In Es.	0	0	2	0
Total	3	2	5	0
%	30.00	20.00	50.00	0

Given the overall paucity of pronominal genitives, their lack of representation in the order N_G is not entirely surprising, since this category was the least numerous among nominal genitives (5.74%), appearing less than half as frequently as the next lowest category.⁵⁰

Of the two instances of the order G_N, one exemplifies a pattern which is revisited below in discussing Jerome's translation of Origen's homily.

- (51) **eorum**, qui de libris hebraicis varia
 he:GEN.PL who:NOM.PL from book:ABL.PL Hebrew:ABL.PL various:ACC.PL
 suspicantur, **errores**
 suspect:PRS.DPNT.3PL error:ACC.PL
 'the errors of those who suspect variants from the Hebrew books' (HQG 2.8)

⁵⁰ More interesting, though inconclusive on its own, is the fact that this lacuna in the Latin data, as will be seen, is repeated for each of the other two corpora.

In example (51), the genitive pronoun *eorum* is separated considerably from its noun *errores* by the intervention of the relative clause. However, since *eorum* is basically semantically empty and functions merely as the grammatical antecedent of the relative clause, one could almost view the combined antecedent and clause as a single constituent rendered in the genitive case by the form of *eorum*. Thus, we might say that its semantic order is GN, while its syntactic order must still be reckoned as G_N. To put it another way, in instances such as this, it is impossible to prepose the genitive and respect the ordered connection between the relative clause and its pronominal antecedent without having that clause come between the genitive and its noun.

Lastly, it may be said that the pronominal data of Corpus 1 presents revealing contrasts with the parallel data from Corpora 2 and 3, but this will have to be explored in the relevant sections below.

E.3. Genitive Nouns in Corpus 2

The nominal data from Corpus 2, Jerome's translation of Origen's first homily on Jeremiah, though once again exhibiting all possible word orders, show something of a preference in the Latin for postposed genitives (69.41%), as seen in Table 2.4.⁵¹

Table 2.4 *Genitive nouns in Corpus 2 (non-scriptural translation)*

	GN		G_N		NG		N_G	
	Lt	Gr	Lt	Gr	Lt	Gr	Lt	Gr
Hom. 1	23	11	3	2	56	64	3	5
%	27.06	13.41	3.53	2.44	65.88	78.05	3.53	6.10

⁵¹ The PL edition of Jerome's translation contains one additional instance of NG in the phrase *sermones Dei* ('the words of God', PL 25, 625 B), because it has added the genitive *Dei* (see the footnote there). However, the PG edition, which I have followed, does not insert *Dei* (PG 13, 275 B).

The fact that Jerome's distribution roughly mimics that of Origen's Greek seems to suggest a greater subservience on the part of the translator than might be imagined from Jerome's statement of practice in Epistle 57.⁵² However, the raw counts for each language can be somewhat misleading. Taking into consideration the number of times Jerome's Latin is actually equivalent to the word order of an underlying Greek genitive (= Gr),⁵³ a different picture emerges:

Table 2.5 *Correspondence of Latin and Greek genitive nouns in Corpus 2*

	GN			G_N			NG			N_G		
	Lt	= Gr	Gr	Lt	= Gr	Gr	Lt	= Gr	Gr	Lt	= Gr	Gr
Hom. 1	23	4	11	3	0	2	56	34	64	3	0	5

The data of Table 2.5 show that, despite the general similarity of distribution, Jerome is frequently independent of his source text. For example, there are more than twice as many Latin instances of the order GN as there are in Greek (23 vs. 11), but little more than a third of the Greek instances (4 of 11) are directly imitated by the Latin. In other words, 82.61% of Jerome's instances of GN are independent of his Greek source text. For the orders G_N and N_G, none of the Latin instances actually corresponds to the Greek.

⁵² See p. 1 above.

⁵³ In one instance of the order NG, a Latin noun phrase (*cordis nostri*) was counted as equivalent to a Greek pronoun (ἡμῶν):

- (a) (1) ἐπὶ τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ἡμῶν
 upon the:ACC.SG leading.[part]/reason:ACC.SG we:GEN.PL
 'upon our leading [part]' i.e. 'upon our reason' (Hom. 1.14.51)
- (2) sub principali cordis nostri
 under leading.[part]:ABL.SG heart/mind:GEN.SG our:GEN.SG
 'under the leading [part] of our mind' (Hom. 1.14, 271 D)

Although the clear majority of genitives in both languages follow the order NG, it can fairly be argued that Jerome's independence is also evident in the data. A closer look at some specific instances of the variety and independence Jerome asserts – from simple reversal of the word order to the addition or subtraction of genitives – serves to illustrate what the numerical data report.

- (52) (a) ἀπὸ τοῦ χου̅ τῆς γῆς
 from the:GEN.SG.M dust:GEN.SG.M the:GEN.SG.F earth:GEN.SG.F
 'from the dust of the earth' (Hom. 1.10.16)
- (b) de **terrae** pulvere
 from earth:GEN.SG dust:ABL.SG
 'from the earth's dust' (Hom. 1.10, 267 A)
- (53) (a) κἄν ἐν γερωντικῇ τις ἦ ἡλικία
 although in old:DAT.SG someone:NOM.SG be:PRS.SBJV.3SG age:DAT.SG
σώματος
 body:GEN.SG
 'although one may be in old age of body' (Hom. 1.13.5)
- (b) licet etiam senili **corporis** sit aetate
 although indeed old:ABL.SG body:GEN.SG be:PRS.SBJV.3SG age:ABL.SG
 'although indeed he may be in old age of body' (Hom. 1.13, 270 A)

The reversal of word order from NG in the Greek to GN in the Latin of (52) is one of the simplest instances of independence in Jerome's translation of Origen. In (53), however, his departure from the Greek word order not only reverses the NG structure, but also introduces hyperbaton between the genitive *corporis* and its noun *aetate* by placing them on either side of the verb *sit*, producing the order G_N.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ It may be observed that the Greek, as well as the Latin translation, already contained hyperbaton between the noun ἡλικία (Latin *aetate*) and its adjective γερωντικῇ (Latin *senili*) – not to mention the

The opposite process also occurs in Jerome’s translation, that is, the undoing of hyperbaton in the Greek by reassembling the separated constituents into a continuous phrase in the Latin:

- (54) (a) Τοῦτο γὰρ πρὸς οὐδένα εὔρομεν τῶν
 this:ACC.SG.N for to none:ACC.SG.M find:AOR.ACT.1PL the:GEN.PL.M
 προφητῶν εἰρημένον·
 prophet:GEN.PL.M say:PRF.PASS.PTCP.ACC.SG.N
 ‘For we found this said to none of the prophets;’ (Hom. 1.5.5)
- (b) Hoc enim numquam ad ullum prophetarum
 this:ACC.SG.N for never to any:ACC.SG.M prophet:GEN.PL.M
 dictum invenimus.
 say:PRF.PASS.PTCP.ACC.SG.N find:PRF.ACT.1PL
 ‘For we never found this said to any of the prophets.’ (Hom. 1.5, 259 A)

The relative order of the genitive τῶν προφητῶν (Latin *prophetarum*) and its (pro)noun οὐδένα (Latin *ullum*) in (54) is not changed in Jerome’s rendering, but the repositioning of the verb at the end of the clause in the Latin means that the order has changed from N_G in the Greek to NG in the translation.⁵⁵

The repositioning of constituents is not the only freedom taken with genitives in St. Jerome’s translation of this homily. In (55), for instance, we find the transformation of the Greek adjective φιλόανθρωπος into a clause featuring the Latin genitive *hominum*:

disjunction of ἡλικία from the preposition whose object it is – but it would be a mistake to see Jerome’s reordering as merely the substitution of one hyperbaton for another, as if the two were somehow equivalent. Rather, it is precisely the independence of placement of the Latin genitive which is at issue.

⁵⁵ Such repositioning of the verb is itself a significant indication of word-order freedom in the translation. For discussion of the placement of verbs, see Chapter IV below.

- (55) (a) ὅμως ὁ φιλόανθρωπος θεὸς . . .
 nevertheless the:NOM.SG man.loving:NOM.SG God:NOM.SG
 ‘nevertheless the man-loving God . . .’ (Hom. 1.3.3)
- (b) Veruntamen cum hominum sit amator . . .
 nevertheless since man:GEN.PL be:PRS.SBJV.3SG lover:NOM.SG
 ‘Nevertheless, since he is a lover of men . . .’ (Hom. 1.3, 258 A)

Furthermore, this added genitive occurs in the order G_N, the order least commonly encountered among the genitives of the original Greek, only 2.44% of Origin’s genitives being in this order.

Genitives are also removed in translation, whether by transformation (56) or deletion (57).⁵⁶

- (56) (a) οἱ λόγοι τοῦ θεοῦ
 the:NOM.PL word:NOM.PL the:GEN.SG God:GEN.SG
 ‘the words of (the) God’ (Hom. 1.16.1)
- (b) sermo **divinus**
 word:NOM.SG divine:NOM.SG
 ‘the divine word’ (Hom. 1.16, 274 C)
- (57) (a) τὴν ἀνάστασιν τῶν νεκρῶν
 the:ACC.SG resurrection:ACC.SG the:GEN.PL dead:GEN.PL
 ‘the resurrection of the dead’ (Hom. 1.16.23)
- (b) resurrectionem
 resurrection:ACC.SG
 ‘the resurrection’ (Hom. 1.16, 275 A)

The substitution of the adjective *divinus* (56b) for the genitive τοῦ θεοῦ (56a) means, of

⁵⁶ Example (56a) was first presented as (4) above.

course, that (56b) was not counted in the data on Latin genitives.⁵⁷ The equivalence of word order, nonetheless, bears recognition. The outright deletion of the genitive in the Latin of (57) likewise means that there is no Latin data count for this example, but this should not be allowed to obscure the inherent freedom taken by Jerome in making such a decision. It is precisely this negative data which can be the most difficult to adequately represent, but which Table 2.5 is meant to shed some light on.

E.4. Genitive Pronouns in Corpus 2

The pronominal data for Corpus 2, presented in Table 2.6, is somewhat more robust than that of the previous corpus, having 20 Latin and 21 Greek pronouns; but like the parallel data from Corpus 1, it generally corroborates the distribution of the nominal genitives in this corpus, with 65.00% of Latin genitives being postposed.

Table 2.6 *Genitive pronouns in Corpus 2 (non-scriptural translation)*

	GN		G_N		NG		N_G	
	Lt	Gr	Lt	Gr	Lt	Gr	Lt	Gr
Hom. 1	3	3	4	0	13	17	0	1
%	15.00	14.29	20.00	0	65.00	80.95	0	4.76

Despite the greater number of pronouns, there are still gaps in the data. Latin once again shows no examples of the order N_G, and Greek lacks any instance of G_N. Moreover, the actual correspondence of the Latin and Greek data, as with the nominal

⁵⁷ This is similar to the regular substitution of possessive adjectives in Latin for possessive pronouns in Greek and Hebrew, as discussed above.

genitives, is rather slim:⁵⁸

Table 2.7 *Correspondence of Latin and Greek genitive pronouns in Corpus 2*

	GN			G_N			NG			N_G		
	Lt	= Gr	Gr	Lt	= Gr	Gr	Lt	= Gr	Gr	Lt	= Gr	Gr
Hom. 1	3	1	3	4	1	0	13	9	17	0	0	1

As can be seen in Table 2.7, only 1 of the 3 instances of the order GN is directly equivalent between the two languages. While 9 of Latin's 13 instances of the order NG are counted as equivalent to the Greek, only 5 of those are renderings of Greek pronouns, the other 4 being in imitation of Greek nouns. This disparity of pronominal genitives is the result of a variety of transformations in the Latin rendering, from the simple reversals of order already presented in (19) and (20) above, to the practically obligatory replacement of certain Greek possessive pronouns with Latin possessive adjectives,⁵⁹ to

⁵⁸ The one instance of Latin and Greek sharing an equivalent G_N order involves the substitution of a Latin pronoun and relative clause for a Greek substantive participle.

⁵⁹ Note that, where Latin uses a possessive adjective while Greek employs a genitive pronoun, Jerome has been similarly free in his placement of those adjectives, reversing Origen's NG order (a) as well as his GN order (b):

- (a) (1) κατὰ φιλανθρωπίαν **ἑαυτοῦ**
 according.to benevolence:ACC.SG himself:GEN.SG
 'according to his benevolence' (Hom. 1.3.20)
- (2) iuxta **suam** clementiam
 according.to his:ACC.SG clemency:ACC.SG
 'according to his clemency' (Hom. 1.3, 258 B)
- (b) (1) **αὐτοῦ** τὴν προφητείαν
 he:GEN.SG the:ACC.SG prophecy:ACC.SG
 'his prophecy' (Hom. 1.12.23)
- (2) prophetia **sua**
 prophecy:NOM.SG his:NOM.SG
 'his prophecy' (Hom. 1.12, 270 A)

freely chosen alterations which result in the introduction or removal of genitive pronouns.

- (58) (a) διὰ τοὺς **προφητικοὺς** λόγους
 through the:ACC.PL prophetic:ACC.PL word:ACC.PL
 ‘through the prophetic words’ (Hom. 1.3.6)
- (b) per sermones **eius**
 through discourse:ACC.PL he:GEN.SG
 ‘through his discourses’ (Hom. 1.3, 258 B)
- (59) (a) διὰ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα **αὐτῆς**
 on.account.of the:ACC.PL sin:ACC.PL she:GEN.SG
 ‘on account of her sins’ (Hom. 1.3.1)
- (b) propter peccata **quae fecerat**
 on.account.of sin:ACC.PL which:ACC.PL do:PLPRF.ACT.3SG
 ‘on account of the sins which she had committed’ (Hom. 1.3, 258 A)

By exchanging the Greek adjective προφητικὸς for the Latin genitive pronoun *eius* in (58), Jerome has created an additional instance of the order NG in the count of Latin pronominal genitives.⁶⁰ Conversely, in (59) he has effectively removed a potential instance of NG order from his count by replacing the Greek genitive pronoun αὐτῆς with the Latin relative clause *quae fecerat*.

Another species of transformation involves the rendering of substantive and attributive participles in the Greek with Latin relative clauses attached to pronominal antecedents. Apart from the replacement of Greek genitive nouns with Latin genitive pronouns, there is nothing remarkable per se about this technique, and St. Jerome is even quite capable of following the word order of Origen’s Greek:

⁶⁰ Note that, while the Greek adjective was before its noun, the Latin genitive has been postposed.

- (60) (a) τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἐγκαταλειπομένων ὑπὸ
 the:ACC.PL soul:ACC.PL the:GEN.PL abandon:PRS.PASS.PTCP.GEN.PL by
 θεοῦ
 God:GEN.SG
 ‘the souls of those abandoned by God’ (Hom. 1.4.1)
- (b) animos eorum qui relinquuntur a Deo
 soul:ACC.PL he:GEN.PL who:NOM.PL abandon:PRS.PASS.3PL by God:ABL.SG
 ‘the souls of those who are abandoned by God’ (Hom. 1.4, 258 C)

In (60b) the genitive pronoun *eorum* and its relative clause are placed after the noun *animos*, just as τῶν ἐγκαταλειπομένων etc. follow τὰς ψυχὰς (60a). But in (61) Jerome has not only reversed the NG order of the Greek (61a), he has also separated the genitive *eorum* from its noun *contemplationem* by the intervening relative clause (61b).

- (61) (a) ἐπὶ τὸν σκοπὸν τῶν προκειμένων
 to the:ACC.SG aim:ACC.SG the:GEN.PL precede:PRS.MID.PTCP.GEN.PL
 ἀναγνωσμάτων
 reading:GEN.PL
 ‘to the aim of the preceding readings’ (Hom. 1.1.9)
- (b) ad eorum quae lecta sunt
 to this:GEN.PL which:NOM.PL read:PRF.PASS.PTCP.NOM.PL be:PRS.3PL
 contemplationem
 aim:ACC.SG
 ‘to the aim of these [things] which were read’ (Hom. 1.1, 255 A)

The resultant G_N order, with the genitive pronoun and its relative clause preceding the noun it limits, is one already observed in Jerome’s original writings, example (51) above, and may thus be considered an instance of his own style and syntax prevailing over the word order of his source text. As with all of the above transformations involving genitive

pronouns, Jerome's independence is greater than may be apparent from the raw numbers presented in Table 2.6.

E.5. Genitive Nouns in Corpus 3

The data from Corpus 3, Jerome's translations of the Scriptures, paint a significantly different picture from that of either of the foregoing corpora. Here the overwhelming majority of Latin nominal genitives (88.16%) follow the order NG, as is seen in Table 2.8.⁶¹

Table 2.8 *Genitive nouns in Corpus 3 (Old Testament translations)*

	GN		G_N		NG		N_G	
	Lt	= Heb	Lt	= Heb	Lt	= Heb	Lt	= Heb
1 Sam	0	0	0	0	72	68	1	0
Esth	12	0	4	0	80	60	3	0
Jdt	6	n/a	0	n/a	49	n/a	1	n/a
Total	18	0	4	0	201	128	5	0
%	7.89	0	1.75	0	88.16	100.00	2.19	0

While all of the possible word orders are represented in the corpus as a whole, it is important to note that the samples from each book are not individually so diverse. In fact, only the sample from the book of Esther contains all four orders – the sample from Judith is lacking the order G_N; and that of First Samuel, the most extreme case, has 98.63% of its genitives in the order NG, with the only exception being a single instance of N_G.⁶²

⁶¹ As noted above, Hebrew genitive-equivalents were not counted on their own merit; the column “= Heb” indicates, after the manner of the previous tables of correspondences, the number of times the Latin is directly reflective of an equivalent Hebrew construction.

⁶² Cf. Adams (1976, 82) who, using a bipartite categorization of NG/GN, finds that, in the first four chapters of Genesis, the Vulgate version has 101 of its 102 genitives (99.02%) in the order NG. Similarly, García de la Fuente (1983, 57) finds that all 71 instances of this type of genitive construction in the Vulgate version of Joel appear in the order NG.

- (62) (a) *kī ne'ěmān šəmû'ēl lənābî' l=YHWH*
 that:CONJ confirm:PASS.PTCP Samuel for:prophet for=YHWH
 'that Samuel [was] confirmed as a prophet of the LORD' (1 Sam 3:20)
- (b) *quod fidelis Samuhel propheta esset*
 that:CONJ faithful:NOM.SG Samuel:NOM.SG prophet:NOM.SG be:IPF.SBJV.3SG
Domini
 Lord:GEN.SG
 'that Samuel was a faithful prophet of the Lord' (1 Sam 3:20)

Even in this one instance of N_G (62), however, it can be seen that Jerome has scrupulously followed the original order of the words – including his odd placement of the adjective *fidelis* (62b), with which he rendered the participle *ne'ěmān* (62a)⁶³ – and that the hyperbaton created by the insertion of *esset* (62b), changing the order from NG to N_G, does not alter the relative order or syntactic relationship of N and G.⁶⁴

The four instances of the order NG found in the Latin of First Samuel but not in the Hebrew of the MT are likewise close imitations of the Hebrew word order, despite the manipulation of their syntax. That is, the choice to employ a genitive in Latin where the Hebrew has some other construction has only limitedly affected the word order of the semantic constituents, as exemplified in (63):

⁶³ The word order and word choice here are likely influenced by the equivalent choices on the part of the LXX translators in their Greek rendering of this same passage. Nonetheless, the syntactic independence of the two translations (with regard to case usage) should not be overlooked.

⁶⁴ Because it is precisely the order of the constituents which is being counted, however, the “= Heb” column had to remain at zero.

- (63) (a) *lāmmâ ta'ăšûn k=(h)adəbārîm hā'ēlleh*
 why do:PRX.ACT.2PL as=the:thing:ABS.PL the:these:ABS.PL
 'why are you doing these such things?' (1 Sam 2:23)
- (b) *quare facitis res huiuscemodi*
 why do:PRS.ACT.2PL thing:ACC.PL this:sort:GEN.SG
 'why are you doing things of this sort?' (1 Sam 2:23)

Here, the Latin genitive *huiuscemodi* (63b) combines the senses of the Hebrew preposition *k* and demonstrative *hā'ēlleh* (63a), while being placed in the location of *hā'ēlleh*. In this way, the word order of the Hebrew has largely been maintained in Jerome's translation.

The comparative freedom taken by St. Jerome in the book of Esther, where 39 out of 99 Latin genitives have no direct ordering equivalents in the Hebrew, appears to confirm something of the judgment that this translation is less literal (Kedar 1988, 324). Indeed, a variety of liberties may be observed, from the simple reversal of order in (64):

- (64) (a) *bi=dbar hammelek*
 at=word:CST.SG the:king:ABS.SG
 'at the word of the king' (Esth 1:12)
- (b) *ad regis imperium*
 at king:GEN.SG command:ACC.SG
 'at the king's command' (Esth 1:12)

to the apparent rewriting of entire phrases, as in (65):

- (65) (a) ûkəday bizzāyôn wāqāsep
 and:as:enough:CST.SG contempt:ABS.SG and:wraht:ABS.SG
 ‘and thus [there will be] enough of contempt and wrath’ (Esth 1:18)
- (b) unde **regis** iusta est indignatio
 whence king:GEN.SG just:NOM.SG be:PRS.3SG indignation:NOM.SG
 ‘whence the king’s indignation is just’ (Esth 1:18)

Whereas the genitive *regis* in (64b) is based on the Hebrew *hammelek* (64a), albeit reversing the order from NG to GN, the use of *regis* in (65b) is completely independent of the Hebrew as represented by the MT (65a). Unsurprisingly, it is precisely here, where the Latin takes leave of its Hebrew source text, that we find an instance of G_N order – an order impossible in the context of the Hebrew construct–genitive, but well represented in St. Jerome’s original Latin.

Despite such obvious transgressions of Jerome’s espoused literalism in this book, the overall numbers are still strikingly different from those of his original writings. It must be observed that 80.81% of genitives in Esther are in the order NG (compared to 42.62% of genitives in his original Latin writings), and that 75.00% of those are directly imitative of the Hebrew source text.

Furthermore, even when Jerome initially appears to be quite free in his rendering, there are at times certain resonances with the Hebrew that, upon further investigation, demonstrate his careful attention to the Hebrew word order:

- (66) (a) waybaqqēš hāmān ləhašmîd
 and:seek:WPFX.ACT.3SG Haman:ABS.SG to:exterminate:ACT.INF
 'et-kol-**hayyəhûdîm** 'ăšer bəkol-malkût 'ăḥašwērôš
 OBJ-all-the:Judeans:ABS.PL REL in:all-kingdom:CST.SG Ahasuerus:ABS.SG
 'am mordōkāy
 people:CST.SG Mordecai:ABS.SG
 'and Haman sought to exterminate all the Judeans who [were] in
 all the kingdom of Ahasuerus, the people of Mordecai' (Esth 3:6)
- (b) magis=que voluit omnem **Iudaeorum** qui
 more=and want:PRF.ACT.3SG all:ACC.SG Judean:GEN.PL who:NOM.PL
 erant in regno Asueri perdere
 be:IPF.3PL in kingdom:ABL.SG Ahasuerus:GEN.SG destroy:PRS.ACT.INF
nationem
 people:ACC.SG
 'and he wanted more to destroy all the people of the Judeans who
 were in the kingdom of Ahasuerus' (Esth 3:6)

The considerable distance between the genitive *Iudaeorum* and its noun *nationem* (66b) – separated, as they are, by six words, including a relative clause – seems to be merely another instance of Jerome effecting a G_N order in accordance with his Latin style and without any basis in the Hebrew, as in the previous example. However, despite the syntactical and other changes that he has introduced here, Jerome's placement of *nationem* can claim a basis in the similarly located Hebrew noun 'am (66a). That is, although the genitival relationship of the Latin is different from the appositional relationship between the Hebrew 'am and kol-hayyəhûdîm,⁶⁵ the relative positions of the words in the clause are nearly identical. The Latin, then, is clearly recast, but not without attention to the word order of the Hebrew source text.

⁶⁵ A difference, it should be noted, that requires the Latin translation to abandon the Hebrew genitive *mordōkāy*, which is properly attached to 'am.

The count of genitive nouns in Judith, though standing without the Aramaic source text with which to compare it, is clearly in keeping with the patterns of the other translations in this corpus. With 87.50% of its genitives appearing in the order NG, it too confirms the emphasis on this word order in St. Jerome's Old Testament translations.

E.6. Genitive Pronouns in Corpus 3

Besides being the most numerous among the three corpora, the pronominal genitives of Corpus 3 are also the most skewed in their distribution.⁶⁶ Whereas Jerome's original writings were evenly split between preposed and postposed genitive pronouns, and his translation of Origen's homily showed a clear but limited preference for postposed pronominal genitives (65.00% being NG), the genitive pronouns in his translations of the Old Testament are overwhelmingly postposed, with 92.31% appearing in the order NG, as shown in Table 2.9.

Table 2.9 *Genitive pronouns in Corpus 3 (Old Testament translations)*

	GN		G_N		NG		N_G	
	Lt	= Heb	Lt	= Heb	Lt	= Heb	Lt	= Heb
1 Sam	0	0	0	0	20	20	0	0
Esth	1	0	2	0	15	13	0	0
Jdt ⁶⁷	1	n/a	0	n/a	13	n/a	0	n/a
Total	2	0	2	0	48	33	0	0
%	3.85	0	3.85	0	92.31	100.00	0	0

Equally impressive is the correspondence, where verifiable, between the Latin ordering

⁶⁶ Of special note among various gaps in the data is the continued absence of the order N_G.

⁶⁷ A textual variant in Jdt 3:9, where some MSS read *illis* for *illius*, if accepted, would reduce the number of NG instances from 13 to 12.

and the order in the source texts.⁶⁸ Compared to the pronominal genitives of Corpus 2, where 69.23% of those in the order NG were equivalent to the Greek, the instances of NG in the samples from First Samuel and Esther are directly reflective of the Hebrew 94.29% of the time.⁶⁹ And while the correspondence between Jerome's translation of Judith and its non-extant Aramaic source text cannot be evaluated directly, the distribution of its pronominal genitives, with 92.86% appearing in the order NG, arguably suggests a similar reliance on an idiom different from that of Jerome's native style. In order to test such observations and extract conclusions from the foregoing data, however, a statistical analysis must be undertaken, keeping in mind the typological implications thereof.

F. Statistical Analysis

Having examined the ordering of genitives within each corpus, giving particular attention (in the second and third corpora) to the correspondence between source texts and their translations, I turn now to a statistical comparison of the data sets – looking at both the consistency of word order between the nominal and pronominal genitives per

⁶⁸ For both the distribution and its correspondence to the source texts, cf. the analysis of pronominal genitives in the book of Joel by García de la Fuente (1983, 57), who finds a consistent NG order in complete correspondence with the Hebrew.

⁶⁹ Among the NG pronouns of First Samuel and Esther, there are two instance (1 Sam 3:14 and Esth 1:10) where the Latin is placed according to the order, not of a Hebrew pronoun, but of a Hebrew noun, e.g.:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|------------------------------------|--------------|------------|--------------|
| (a) | (1) | ‘āwōn | bêt | ‘ēlî | |
| | | iniquity:CST.SG | house:CST.SG | Eli:ABS.SG | |
| | | ‘the iniquity of the house of Eli’ | | | (1 Sam 3:14) |
| | (2) | iniquitas | domus | eius | |
| | | iniquity:NOM.SG | house:GEN.SG | he:GEN.SG | |
| | | ‘the iniquity of his house’ | | | (1 Sam 3:14) |

In these instances, nonetheless, it is clear that the Hebrew word order has been preserved.

language within each corpus, as well as the consistency of the word order of Latin genitives from one corpus to another – and, in the analysis of the translation of Judith, from one text to the others of that corpus.

At issue here is the independence of two variables, group affiliation being one,⁷⁰ and word order the other.⁷¹ Therefore, a chi square (χ^2) test (test of independence) was performed on each data set, following the rationale and method described in Ravid (2000, Ch. 12), and employing a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet to carry out the calculations. The null hypothesis in every case is that the two variables are independent, that is, that there is no difference in the distribution of word orders between the two groups being tested – whatever observed differences being a matter of chance. The threshold for statistical significance is considered to be at $p = .05$; however, the actual p -values for each chi square test are reported.⁷²

The low counts for some word orders (as low as zero in some instances) were a problem that had to be overcome in the analysis of the data. For according to Ravid (2000, 242), “when the expected frequencies are small and approach zero, the χ^2 value tends to be inflated, leading to a rejection of the null hypothesis when it should, in fact, be retained.”⁷³ The threshold for concern over small expected frequencies is crossed “for

⁷⁰ Group affiliation has two levels: for tests conducted on Latin and Greek data sets within each corpus, the levels are noun and pronoun; for those conducted on Latin data sets between corpora/texts, the levels are the corpora/texts themselves.

⁷¹ Word order also has two levels: GN (including G_N) and NG (including N_G). See the next paragraph for an explanation of this regrouping.

⁷² These p -values were calculated using the CHITEST function in Excel. For the sake of clarity in the presentation of these numbers, they have for the most part been rounded to two decimal places.

⁷³ The calculation of expected frequencies, explained in Ravid (2000, 243–4), is based on the observed frequencies of the data collected.

2x2 tables, when at least one expected frequency is less than 5.”⁷⁴ The usual remedy (“Yates’ correction”), however, because it may overcompensate, is called into question by Ravid, who prefers instead to ensure that sample sizes are sufficient for the statistical analysis, and she suggests that this may be accomplished by the combination of similar categories (242–3). Under the fourfold division of word orders employed up to this point, expected frequencies would be low in several areas of the data, but this would especially be the case for the orders G_N and N_G. Therefore, for this portion of the investigation, the data were reorganized into a bipartite arrangement, where GN subsumes G_N and NG does likewise with N_G.

F.1. Comparison of Nominal and Pronominal Genitives

It was not assumed a priori that genitive nouns and pronouns in a given language should have the same or even similar word-order distributions. The factors that determine the placement of a genitive noun might well have been different from those that govern the word order of a genitive pronoun. The first chi square tests, therefore, were performed on single-language data sets from each corpus, in order to determine whether the distribution of genitive word orders in each set was independent of nominal/pronominal affiliation. The Hebrew source texts of Corpus 3 were not tested, as there was no separate reckoning of Hebrew data.⁷⁵ The results of these tests are presented in Table 2.10.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Ravid notes that “some textbooks take a more conservative approach” and draw the line “when the number of expected frequency is *not higher than 10*” (2000, 242n4, italics original). NB: the discussion in Ravid (and elsewhere in my limited searching) does not consider tables larger than “2x2.”

⁷⁵ The non-extant Aramaic source text of Judith, of course, could not be tested either.

⁷⁶ In this and all of the following tables, percentages are provided to facilitate the reader’s comparison of the data. The chi square tests, however, were performed on the raw counts in each set.

Table 2.10 *Comparison of nominal and pronominal genitives within each corpus*

A. Corpus 1: Original writings						
	Latin					
	GN (incl. G_N)		NG (incl. N_G)			
Nom.	63	(51.64%)	59	(48.36%)		
Pron.	5	(50.00%)	5	(50.00%)		
Chi Square Test: $p = .92$						
B. Corpus 2: Non-scriptural translation						
	Latin translation				Greek source text	
	GN (incl. G_N)		NG (incl. N_G)		GN (incl. G_N)	
					NG (incl. N_G)	
Nom.	26	(30.59%)	59	(69.41%)	13	(15.85%)
Pron.	7	(35.00%)	13	(65.00%)	3	(14.29%)
Chi Square Test: $p = .70$				Chi Square Test: $p = .86$		
C. Corpus 3: Old Testament translations						
	Latin translations					
	GN (incl. G_N)		NG (incl. N_G)			
Nom.	22	(9.65%)	206	(90.35%)		
Pron.	4	(7.69%)	48	(92.31%)		
Chi Square Test: $p = .66$						

As can be seen in Table 2.10, none of the four data sets exhibits a statistically significant disparity between the distribution of nominal and pronominal genitives. This means that we can assume there is no major difference of distribution between nouns and pronouns (despite the various lacunae in the fourfold distribution of pronouns observed in the previous sections).⁷⁷

F.2. Comparison of Latin Genitives between Corpora

Recalling that the ultimate focus of this investigation is on the word order of

⁷⁷ The absence of Latin pronouns in the order N_G, and likewise of Greek pronouns in the order G_N – if it is not simply an accident of the particular texts examined – seems rather to be a limitation on the separation of genitive pronouns from their nouns than one on pre- or postposition in general.

St. Jerome's translations compared to that of his original Latin writings, I now turn to a comparison of the distributions of genitive word orders between the Latin of each corpus and that of the others. Table 2.11 presents the results of the chi square tests for genitive nouns.

Table 2.11 *Comparison of Latin nominal genitives between corpora*

A. Corpora 1 and 2: Original writings vs. translation from Greek				
	GN (incl. G_N)		NG (incl. N_G)	
Corpus 1	63	(51.64%)	59	(48.36%)
Corpus 2	26	(30.59%)	59	(69.41%)
Chi Square Test: $p = 2.62 \times 10^{-3}$				
B. Corpora 1 and 3: Original writings vs. translations from Hebrew plus Judith				
	GN (incl. G_N)		NG (incl. N_G)	
Corpus 1	63	(51.64%)	59	(48.36%)
Corpus 3	22	(9.65%)	206	(90.35%)
Chi Square Test: $p = 2.55 \times 10^{-18}$				
C. Corpora 2 and 3: Translation from Greek vs. translations from Hebrew plus Judith				
	GN (incl. G_N)		NG (incl. N_G)	
Corpus 2	26	(30.59%)	59	(69.41%)
Corpus 3	22	(9.65%)	206	(90.35%)
Chi Square Test: $p = 4.82 \times 10^{-6}$				

From the low, and even miniscule,⁷⁸ p -values in Table 2.11, it is clear that the disparity of distribution among nominal genitives is statistically significant for every pairing of corpora. That is, the dissimilarities of ordering for genitive nouns among the three corpora are so great as to defy an explanation by chance alone. It is, therefore, implausible to hold that, in this respect, Jerome's translations are conformed to his native

⁷⁸ The value $p = 2.55 \times 10^{-18}$ (Table 2.11.B), or 0.0000000000000000255, is beyond the precision merited by the sample size. Nonetheless, it gives an impression of the degree of disparity.

syntax, or even that his translations share a common syntax (albeit distinct from his native idiom), regardless of source and genre.

The analysis of pronominal genitives among the three corpora gives something of a different picture, as shown in Table 2.12.⁷⁹

Table 2.12 *Comparison of Latin pronominal genitives between corpora*

A. Corpora 1 and 2: Original writings vs. translation from Greek		
	GN (incl. G_N)	NG (incl. N_G)
Corpus 1	5 (50.00%)	5 (50.00%)
Corpus 2	7 (35.00%)	13 (65.00%)
		Chi Square Test: $p = .43$

B. Corpora 1 and 3: Original writings vs. translations from Hebrew plus Judith		
	GN (incl. G_N)	NG (incl. N_G)
Corpus 1	5 (50.00%)	5 (50.00%)
Corpus 3	4 (7.69%)	48 (92.31%)
		Chi Square Test: $p = 5.05 \times 10^{-4}$

C. Corpora 2 and 3: Translation from Greek vs. translations from Hebrew plus Judith		
	GN (incl. G_N)	NG (incl. N_G)
Corpus 2	7 (35.00%)	13 (65.00%)
Corpus 3	4 (7.69%)	48 (92.31%)
		Chi Square Test: $p = 3.92 \times 10^{-3}$

As was the case for genitive nouns, the disparities between St. Jerome's original writings and his translations from the Old Testament (Table 2.12.B), as well as between the two corpora of his translations (Table 2.12.C), are statistically significant.⁸⁰ Unlike his

⁷⁹ Although for uniformity of presentation the column for NG is labeled as including N_G, it should be borne in mind that among Latin pronouns there were not actually any instances of the order N_G.

⁸⁰ Despite combining the data into a bipartite arrangement, the expected frequencies for these two chi square tests included low (3.06 in part C) and very low (1.45 in part B) figures. However, even applying Yates' Correction, the results would be statistically significant; therefore, the uncorrected p -values were allowed to stand (see Ravid's [2000, 242] questioning of the need to apply the correction).

nominal genitives, however, the word orders of genitive pronouns do not show a statistically significant disparity of distribution between Jerome's original writings and his translation of Origen's Greek, p being .43 (Table 2.12.A).⁸¹ That is, statistically speaking, the Latin pronominal genitives in Corpus 2 more or less follow the word order of his native idiom.

The implications of these statistical analyses, considered in light of the syntactic data previously analyzed, will be taken up more fully below in the concluding section of this chapter. First, however, one final set of statistics must be reviewed.

F.3. Statistical Evaluation of the Translation of Judith

As was noted in Chapter I, St. Jerome's translation of the book of Judith was not made from a Hebrew source text, but rather from a Chaldean (Aramaic) source, which is no longer extant. Furthermore, according to his own prologue to the translation (BSV 691), Jerome worked hastily and translated "more sense for sense than word for word,"⁸² even taking the liberty of omitting what he found obscure.⁸³ The question which naturally arises in regard to this translation, then, is whether its word order is more in keeping with that of Jerome's original Latin writings (Corpus 1) – as might be expected of a sense-for-

⁸¹ Here, too, the low data counts resulted in one expected frequency (calculated as 4) being somewhat below the typical threshold for a chi square test. However, since the concern with such data is in the likelihood of making a Type I error, which is plainly not the case with the statistically non-significant value $p = .43$, the analysis has been allowed to stand.

⁸² "Huic unam lucubratiunculam dedi, magis sensum e sensu quam ex verbo verbum transferens" (BSV 691; I gave this one night's work, translating more sense for sense than word for word).

⁸³ "Sola ea quae intellegentia integra in verbis chaldeis invenire potui, latinis expressi" (ibid.; I expressed in Latin only those things which I could ascertain with complete understanding in the Chaldean words).

sense rendering – or that of his other Old Testament translations, which were made from the Hebrew (i.e., the texts of Corpus 3 other than Judith).⁸⁴ Therefore, chi square tests were performed on the data, comparing the distributions of nominal and pronominal genitives in Jerome’s translation of Judith both to those of his original Latin writings and to those of his translations from the Hebrew. The results are presented in Table 2.13.⁸⁵

Table 2.13 *Comparison of nominal and pronominal genitives in the translation of Judith to those in the original writings and the translations from Hebrew*

A. Corpora 1 and 3: Original writings vs. translation of Judith						
	Nominal Genitives				Pronominal Genitives	
	GN (incl. G_N)		NG (incl. N_G)		GN (incl. G_N)	NG (incl. N_G)
Corpus 1	63	(51.64%)	59	(48.36%)	5	(50.00%)
Judith	6	(10.71%)	50	(89.29%)	1	(7.14%)
	Chi Square Test: $p = 1.95 \times 10^{-7}$				Chi Square Test: $p = .02$	

B. Corpus 3: Translations from Hebrew vs. translation of Judith						
	Nominal Genitives				Pronominal Genitives	
	GN (incl. G_N)		NG (incl. N_G)		GN (incl. G_N)	NG (incl. N_G)
from Heb	16	(9.30%)	156	(90.70%)	3	(7.89%)
Judith	6	(10.71%)	50	(89.29%)	1	(7.14%)
	Chi Square Test: $p = .76$				Chi Square Test: $p = .93$	

Contrary to what might have been expected, Table 2.13 clearly shows the

⁸⁴ Chaldean (Aramaic), as a Semitic language, would have more in common with Hebrew syntax than with that of Latin, which belongs to the Indo-European family. (For the comparable handling of genitives in Hebrew and Aramaic, including the ordering of constituents, see IBHS [Ch. 9] and Rosenthal [2006, §§ 41, 47, and 48] respectively.) It is on the basis of the genetic relationship of these source-text languages, as well as the identity of genre (Latin translations of the Old Testament), that the comparison is made between Jerome’s translation of Judith and his translations from the Hebrew.

⁸⁵ Once again, the low data counts for pronouns resulted in very low expected frequencies (as low as 2.5 in part A and 1.08 in part B), which may compromise the results of those chi square tests. In fact, applying Yates’ Correction to the pronominal data in part A does return a non-significant result. However, given Ravid’s (2000, 242) questioning of the need to apply the correction, as well as the obviously parallel percentage distribution to that of nouns in part A, the uncorrected result was allowed to stand. (Note the very different p -values between nominal and pronominal genitives in part A despite the similar percentage distributions.) In part B the non-significant value $p = .93$ obviates any concern over a Type I error.

statistically significant disparity between the word order of genitives in Jerome's translation of Judith and that of his original writings. This means, of course, that, at least as far as the ordering of genitives, Jerome's native syntax is not evident in his translation of Judith. Interestingly, the table also reveals an extremely close correspondence of distributions – for both nominal and pronominal genitives – between the translation of Judith and the other Old Testament translations, which were made from Hebrew source texts. The immediate result of this latter finding is the confirmation of the choice to include the translation of Judith among the other translations in Corpus 3. From a broader perspective, these findings raise questions about St. Jerome's understanding of word-order literalism and its relationship to his use of sense-for-sense and word-for-word translation techniques. Such questions, however, require further investigation than has been accomplished in this chapter alone. Therefore, even as I turn to a summary of my findings in this chapter, some questions must remain open.

G. Summary and Conclusions for Genitives

Taking as a point of departure St. Jerome's original Latin writings (Corpus 1), we find that both his nominal and pronominal genitives exhibit a very even split between being preposed and postposed – a distribution found in the works of Latin authors from the Classical period to the sixth century (Lisón Huguet 2001, Wilkins 1940), including in other works by Jerome (Heimann 1966).

The translation from the Greek in Corpus 2 shows a partial correspondence to Jerome's native idiom, in that the distribution of its genitive pronouns, though favoring postposition, is not significantly different from that of Corpus 1 ($p = .43$). The

translation's nominal genitives, on the other hand, show a clearer preference for postposition (69.41%) and a significantly different distribution from that of Jerome's original Latin ($p = 2.62 \times 10^{-3}$). Overall, the numerical data from the translation in Corpus 2 appear to mimic that of the Greek source text, but the actual degree of correspondence – that is, the number of times the Latin rendering is in direct imitation of the Greek word order – is relatively low (Tables 2.5 and 2.7). Therefore, the resemblance between their distributions of genitive word orders cannot plausibly be attributed to a slavish word-order literalism in Jerome's Latin translation.

The distribution of genitives in St. Jerome's translations from the Old Testament (Corpus 3) is overwhelmingly skewed towards postposition, with 90.35% of nominal genitives and 92.31% of pronominal ones being postposed, and nearly all of these being in the uninterrupted order NG. This distribution is significantly different from that of both the original writings of Corpus 1 ($p = 2.55 \times 10^{-18}$ for nouns, and $p = 5.05 \times 10^{-4}$ for pronouns) and the Latin of Corpus 2 ($p = 4.82 \times 10^{-6}$ for nouns, and $p = 3.92 \times 10^{-3}$ for pronouns). More importantly, the actual degree of correspondence between Jerome's Latin renderings in Corpus 3 and the word order of their Hebrew source texts (for First Samuel and Esther), despite some obvious liberties taken in the translations, is very high (Tables 2.8 and 2.9). The distribution of genitive word orders in Corpus 3, therefore, seems to be reflective of a close imitation of the Hebrew source texts, or, in the case of Judith, of at least a non-Latin influence which follows the Hebrew/Aramaic pattern.

From a typological point of view, the findings just rehearsed are quite revealing with regard to St. Jerome's translation technique. If Latin, both generally and in Jerome's writings, is mixed in its usage of preposed and postposed genitives (Spevak 2010,

266n64; Adams 1976, 78), then the clear preference for postposition to the near exclusion of preposed genitives in Jerome’s translations from the Old Testament is somewhat anomalous at best. Dryer (1989, 70–71), followed by Croft (2003, 43–44), has suggested that a basic word-order type can be established in a given language on the grounds that one order of a binary opposition, such as preposed and postposed genitives, is “at least twice as frequent as the alternative” (Croft 2003, 43). Thus, while Latin’s native distribution of genitives, being fairly evenly split between GN and NG (subsuming the orders G_N and N_G, respectively), precludes the classification of one order as basic or unmarked according to Dryer’s standard, the distribution exhibited in Jerome’s Old Testament translations can easily be considered to show a basic/unmarked NG order, with the order GN being marked, as shown by Table 2.14.

Table 2.14 *Binary tally of Latin genitives in Corpora 1 and 3*

	Nominal Genitives		Pronominal Genitives	
	GN (incl. G_N)	NG (incl. N_G)	GN (incl. G_N)	NG (incl. N_G)
Corpus 1	63 (51.64%)	59 (48.36%)	5 (50.00%)	5 (50.00%)
Corpus 3	22 (9.65%)	206 (90.35%)	4 (7.69%)	48 (92.31%)

Such a typological realignment, in clear imitation of the Hebrew and other source texts, may be accurately described as a quantitative Semiticism (Rubio 2009), and shows, as far as genitives, St. Jerome’s close adherence to the word order of his biblical source texts.

A similar adherence is not obviously present in his translation from the Greek of Corpus 2. Besides the frequent lack of real correspondence between Jerome’s Latin and the Greek source text (Tables 2.5 and 2.7), the Latin translation of Corpus 2 is, as already discussed, mixed in its correlation to his native distribution of genitive word orders

versus the distribution found in Origen's Greek. This mixture is also evident when applying Dryer's test, as seen in Table 2.15.

Table 2.15 *Binary tally of genitives in Corpus 2*

	Nominal Genitives		Pronominal Genitives	
	GN (incl. G_N)	NG (incl. N_G)	GN (incl. G_N)	NG (incl. N_G)
Greek	13 (15.85%)	69 (84.15%)	3 (14.29%)	18 (85.71%)
Latin	26 (30.59%)	59 (69.41%)	7 (35.00%)	13 (65.00%)

While the Greek source text clearly shows a basic/unmarked order of NG among both nominal and pronominal genitives, Jerome's Latin rendering only minimally makes Dryer's cut for genitive nouns and falls short of doing so for genitive pronouns. This finding corroborates the assessment of data from Table 2.12 presented above. In sum, therefore, St. Jerome's translation from the Greek in Corpus 2 is not dependent on the source text for its genitive word orders in the same way or to the same degree that his Old Testament translations are aligned to, and apparently dependent on, the genitive word orders of their source texts.

CHAPTER III – DEMONSTRATIVE ADJECTIVES

A. Morphosyntactic Considerations

Demonstratives, by Waltke and O'Connor's concise definition, "are independent deictic words that may be used as pronouns, taking the place of a noun, or as adjectives, qualifying or determining a noun" (IBHS § 17.1a). The adjectival use of demonstratives – as in the phrases "*this* book" and "*those* words" – is morphosyntactically quite similar among Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. All three languages require that a demonstrative adjective agree in gender and number with its noun, while Latin and Greek additionally require agreement of case (HBLG § 321; Smyth § 1020; IBHS § 14.2). The marked difference, however, between the native word orders of Latin, preferring preposed demonstratives (LHS 407; Marouzeau 1:149), and Hebrew, regularly postposing its demonstratives (IBHS §§ 17.4.1 and 17.5; GKC § 132a), provides another opportunity to analyze the typological consistency of word order among St. Jerome's writings – that is, whether his translations from the Hebrew Scriptures exhibit his normal Latin word order or adopt that of their Hebrew source texts.¹ As before, Jerome's translations from the Greek of Origen's homilies, representing the practice of his non-scriptural translations, are used as a further point of comparison.

¹ The position of the demonstrative in Aramaic, as noted previously (Ch. I, n. 87), is less settled than in Hebrew. Nonetheless, Biblical Aramaic and the Aramaic of the Targums generally postpose demonstrative adjectives (Muraoka 2015, § 14 (1); Rosenthal 2006, § 34; Stevenson [1962] 2007, § 5.10). It was hypothesized, therefore, that the Aramaic demonstratives in Judith would also favor postposition.

A.1. Latin Demonstratives

Latin employs several deictic pronominal adjectives, but there is some difference of opinions as to which of these are properly called demonstratives. In the section on demonstratives in LHS (179–91), there are subentries for six such words: *hic*, *iste*, *ille*, *is*, *idem*, and *ipse*.² However, a more restrictive use of the term is observed by Marouzeau, who, in his chapter on demonstratives, separates the “Adjectif-pronom *is*” from the “Démonstratifs proprement dits,” under which he lists only *hic*, *iste*, and *ille*,³ taking no notice at all in that chapter of *idem* and *ipse* (1:149, 155).⁴ Kent’s morphological treatise (1946, 66–71) likewise reserves the term demonstrative for *hic*, *iste*, and *ille*, while Hale and Buck muddy the waters by including *is* with these three under the heading “The Determinative-Descriptive Pronouns and Corresponding Adjectives” (HBLG § 271).⁵

With no consensus on the matter, and keeping in mind the nature of the present endeavor, it has seemed best to take an interlingual approach to the question and limit the

² Among word-order studies counting all six as demonstratives are Yoder ([1928] 1966), who nonetheless acknowledges *hic*, *iste*, and *ille* as being the “true demonstratives” (59); and Hutchins (1936). Lisón Huguet (2001) also provides data on the same list; however, he sees fit to expressly justify the inclusion of *is* (whose data he then combines with that of *idem* in his table), and he groups *ipse* with the demonstratives on the basis of its phonetic and morphological shape, not its usage (115), acknowledging that *ipse* is not properly a demonstrative (119). Among school reference grammars, *Allen and Greenough’s* (Greenough et al. 1903, § 146) lists all six words as demonstratives, but it takes special notice of *ipse* and *idem* as having distinct meanings from the others.

³ Among word-order studies, Muldowney (1937), Wilkins (1940), and Heimann (1966) generally follow Marouzeau’s arrangement, yet they more readily accept *is* as one of the demonstratives, whereas Marouzeau clearly objects to its inclusion: “L’adjectif-pronom *is*, qu’on range d’ordinaire à tort parmi les démonstratifs . . .” (1:149). Among school reference grammars, *Gildersleeve’s* (Gildersleeve and Lodge [1895] 2000) likewise restricts the term demonstrative to *hic*, *iste*, and *ille* (§ 104), labeling the others “Determinative Pronouns” (§ 103).

⁴ In his subsequent chapter on “Pronominaux,” Marouzeau discusses *idem* and *ipse* under the heading “Adjectifs exprimant l’identification ou la différenciation” (1:182–88).

⁵ Although Waltke and O’Connor’s is a Hebrew grammar, they also name these four (*hic*, *iste*, *ille*, and *is*) as Latin demonstratives (IBHS Ch. 17, n. 1); however, their understanding of the usage of these demonstratives is more in keeping with the Classical idiom than with that of St. Jerome.

consistent with that of other authors throughout Latin’s history (cf. Lisón Huguet 2001, 115; Wilkins 1940, 84), favors preposed forms of *ille* (5) – often with hyperbaton – but also makes use of postposition, as in (6).¹⁰

- (5) Timeamus **illam** **prophetiam**
 fear:PRS.SBJV.ACT.1PL that:ACC.SG prophecy:ACC.SG
 ‘Let us fear that prophecy’ (Ep. 22.5.3)
- (6) **psalmus** **ille** cantatur
 psalm:NOM.SG that:NOM.SG sing:PRS.PASS.3SG
 ‘that psalm is sung’ (Ep. 22.27.7)

The demonstrative adjective *is* has a more restricted set of uses than the foregoing “proper” demonstratives. Two basic functions are described by Marouzeau (1:149), and these correspond well to the actual instances found in Jerome’s original Latin. The first is an anaphoric function, Marouzeau’s “terme de rappel,” as in (7); the second function is to mark the antecedent of a relative clause, Marouzeau’s “terme d’appel,” as in (8).

- (7) una cum adultero – nam **id** **crimen**
 together with adulterer:ABL.SG for:CONJ that:ACC.SG charge:ACC.SG
 maritus inpegerat
 husband:NOM.SG affix:PLPRF.ACT.3SG
 ‘together with the adulterer – for the husband had affixed that charge’ (Ep. 1.3.1)
- (8) in **eo** **libro** quem . . . edidimus
 in that:ABL.SG book:ABL.SG which:ACC.SG publish:PRF.ACT.1PL
 ‘in that book which . . . we published’ (Ep. 22.22.1)

¹⁰ Postposition of *ille* has by some been considered a particular idiomatic usage (HBLG § 624.2a; Greenough et al. 1903, § 598b; see also Marouzeau’s discussion of the matter [1:156–57]).

The purpose of *id* in the phrase *id crimen* (7) is to direct one's attention back to the charge already implied by *adultero*. Conversely, the demonstrative in the phrase *eo libro* is merely used to mark the antecedent of the subsequent *quem*. Marouzeau asserts that the anaphoric function is nearly always in the order D(emonstrative)–N(oun), whereas the antecedent use is also found postposed to its noun (1:149). In the selected excerpts of Jerome's original writings, however, all uses of *is* are in the order DN or D_N.¹¹

Idem, though in origin connected with *is* (LHS 188; HBLG § 137), functions simply as an adjective meaning '(the) same' and is regularly preposed to its noun (Marouzeau 1:185).¹²

- (9) Nitriae . . . in **eodem** **loco**
 Nitria:LOC.SG in the.same:ABL.SG place:ABL.SG
 'at Nitria . . . in the same place' (Ep. 22.33.1)

It is common for *idem* to be found in combination with one of the other demonstratives (LHS 188); however, only one such instance appeared in all of the texts surveyed:

- (10) haec eadem verba
 this:ACC.PL same:ACC.PL word:ACC.PL
 'these same words' (1 Sam 17:23)

Rather than counting both as demonstratives, the form of *hic* in (10) was counted, as

¹¹ A single instance of the order ND is found in Jerome's translation of Origen's first homily on Jeremiah (1.15, 274 B [line 20 in the Greek]), though it should be noted that it corresponds exactly to the word order of the Greek.

¹² In fact, all of the instances of *idem* examined, whether in Jerome's original Latin or in his translations, were preposed.

With such a limited sampling, it is, of course, impossible to comment on the typical ordering of this word, other than to note that preposed forms exist.

The demonstrative adjectives οὗτος and ἐκεῖνος, on the other hand, are both well represented in the data and are used in very similar ways.

- (12) οὗτοι οἱ θησαυροὶ ἐν Χριστῷ εἰσιν
 this:NOM.PL the:NOM.PL treasury:NOM.PL in Christ:DAT.SG be:PRS.3PL
 ‘these treasures are in Christ’ (Hom. 8.5.22)
- (13) ἐπὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς τούτους
 at the:ACC.PL treasury:ACC.PL this:ACC.PL
 ‘at these treasures’ (Hom. 8.6.3)
- (14) πρὸς ἐκεῖνον τὸν Ἰούδαν
 to that:ACC.SG the:ACC.SG Judah:ACC.SG
 ‘to that Judah’ (Hom. 9.1.57)
- (15) πρὸς τὸν λαὸν ἐκεῖνον
 to the:ACC.SG people:ACC.SG that:ACC.SG
 ‘to that people’ (Hom. 9.2.44)

As examples (12–15) illustrate, both of these adjectives can be either preposed to their nouns, (12) and (14), or postposed, (13) and (15). The majority of the instances of each, however, are preposed.

A.3. Hebrew Demonstratives

Hebrew is generally considered to have two demonstratives: the “true” demonstrative *zeh*, which expresses proximity (‘this’) (IBHS § 17.3; cf. GKC § 34); and the third-person personal pronoun *hû’*, which doubles as a demonstrative expressing

The typical placement of a demonstrative adjective in Hebrew, whether one of the common demonstratives or *hallāz*, is after its noun (IBHS § 14.3.1a; § 17.4.1), and generally after any other adjectives attached to that noun (GKC § 126v and n. 1). In the data analyzed for this investigation, all of the Hebrew demonstrative adjectives were postposed.

B. Demonstratives Excluded from the Data

Three categories of Latin demonstratives which appeared in the examined texts were considered unsuitable for the purposes of this study and were therefore excluded from the data: (1) demonstratives of indeterminate status; (2) demonstratives in fixed expressions; and (3) demonstratives introducing quotations.

B.1. Demonstratives of Indeterminate Status

The pairing of a demonstrative with another word which could itself be either an adjective or a substantive creates a situation wherein it is impossible to determine which of the two is to be taken as the substantive and which the adjective (cf. Walker 1918, 650; Hutchins 1936, 2n3 and 281).¹⁹

- (19) **Hoc** **idem** passus est ab aemulis
 this:ACC.SG same:ACC.SG suffer:PRF.DPNT.3SG from rival:ABL.PL
 et mantuanus vates
 even Mantuan:NOM.SG poet:NOM.SG
 ‘Even the Mantuan poet suffered this same [thing] from rivals’ (HQG 1.7)

¹⁹ For Greek, cf. *Τίνας δὲ τοσοῦτους* (Hom. 1.6.21), though it was not counted (see n. 13 above).

- (20) **misit** **me** **Dominus** **haec** **ipsa**
 send:PRF.ACT.3SG I:ACC.SG Lord:NOM.SG this:ACC.PL very:ACC.PL
 nuntiare tibi
 announce:PRS.ACT.INF thou:DAT.SG
 ‘the Lord sent me to announce these very [things] to thee’ (Jdt 11:13)
- (21) **servite** **ei** **soli**
 serve:PRS.IMP.ACT.2PL this/he:DAT.SG alone:DAT.SG
 ‘serve this/him alone’ (1 Sam 7:3)

The phrase *Hoc idem* (19) could be interpreted as either the adjective *Hoc* modifying the pronoun *idem*, something like “this same-[thing]”; or the pronoun *Hoc* modified by the adjective *idem*, “this-[thing] identical”; or perhaps even two pronouns, one being in apposition to the other, “this-[thing], the same-[thing].” Similar assessments could be made for *haec ipsa* (20) and *ei soli* (21). In all such circumstances, therefore, the ambiguity of the phrase rendered it inadmissible, and these items were left uncounted.

On the other hand, in a few instances where a demonstrative is modifying an adjective which is clearly being used substantively, the demonstrative adjective was counted.

- (22) **Hoc** **unum** dico, quod . . .
 this:ACC.SG one:ACC.SG say:PRS.ACT.1SG that:CONJ
 ‘This one [thing] I say, that . . .’ (HQG 3.14)

Since it would make no sense to interpret *Hoc unum* (22) as “one this-[thing],” as if to put a count on “this-[thing],” *unum* was instead taken as a substantive, and *Hoc* as an adjective modifying *unum*.

sense of “that well-known saying.” The Greek of Origen’s homilies employs the article in a similar way; and, since Latin is lacking an article, Jerome frequently renders the Greek article with a Latin demonstrative (25). Yet it is not merely a device of translation for Jerome, who uses the same construction in his own original Latin (26).

- (25) (a) Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ « νεώτερος ἐγὼ εἶμι »
 but also the:NOM.SG young:CMPR.NOM.SG I:NOM.SG be:PRS.1SG
 ‘But also the « I am too young »’ (Hom. 1.6.35)
- (b) Sed et **illud**: « Quia iuvenis ego sum »
 but also that:NOM.SG for:CONJ young:NOM.SG I:NOM.SG be:PRS.1SG
 ‘But also that « For I am young »’ (Hom. 1.6, 262 A)
- (26) secundum **illud**: « si spiritus . . . »
 according.to that:ACC.SG if spirit:NOM.SG
 ‘according to that « If the spirit . . . »’ (Ep. 22.26.3)

Two rationales may be given for excluding this construction. First, it could be argued that the quotation, though used substantively, is instead in apposition to a pronominal use of the demonstrative. While this would not explain the Greek with its article (25a),²² it is a plausible interpretation of the Latin in (25b) and (26). Analyzing these demonstratives as pronouns would, of course, render them irrelevant in a count of demonstrative adjectives.

Second, the weight of a constituent such as a quotation all but requires a demonstrative adjective to be preposed (Hawkins 1983, 89–91), making the DN word

²² The Greek construction is, of course, not under consideration for its own sake, since it involves an article and not a demonstrative – the origins of the Greek article notwithstanding (Smyth § 332a).

order of these examples a matter of course, not choice.²³ By either rationale, then, it is clear that the use of demonstratives to introduce quotations is not a suitable source of data for the present investigation.²⁴

C. Data and Commentary

Though only a handful of demonstratives were excluded for the reasons given above, demonstrative adjectives proved far less numerous than genitives. Therefore, the selections examined in each of the three corpora were expanded, in order to provide sufficient data sets. In Corpus 1 this meant using five of St. Jerome's epistles instead of only one. Likewise, in Corpus 2 five of Origen's homilies were examined instead of only one. In Corpus 3 this expansion meant collecting data from the entirety of the three scriptural books (First Samuel, Esther,²⁵ and Judith), instead of just the first three chapters of each. With the selections thus expanded, a sufficient number of demonstrative

²³ Cf. the exclusion of genitives for similar reasons in Ch. II, § D.3, above.

²⁴ This construction must, nevertheless, be distinguished from the admissible instance of an author's own demonstrative adjective being used to modify a single noun within a quotation:

- (a) (1) Ἀλλὰ **τοῦτο** « **τὸ** **μωρὸν** τοῦ θεοῦ . . . »
 but this:NOM.SG the:NOM.SG folly:NOM.SG the:GEN.SG God:GEN.SG
 'But this « folly of God . . . »' (Hom. 8.8.17, quoting 1 Cor 1:25)
- (2) Verum **id ipsum** [«] **fatuum** Dei . . . [»]
 but this:NOM.SG very:NOM.SG folly:NOM.SG God:GEN.SG
 'But this very [«] folly of God . . . [»]' (Hom. 8.8, 346 B)

Here, the demonstrative τοῦτο (a1), rendered by the compound *id ipsum* (a2), is used to modify the single noun μωρὸν/*fatuum* 'folly', and not the entire quotation. It is, therefore, not subject to either of the rationales for exclusion set forth above.

²⁵ For the book of Esther, the extent of the book was defined by the Hebrew text. Those chapters and verses which exist in the Vulgate but not in the MT (BSV 10:4 et seq.) were not included.

adjectives was obtained for each corpus.²⁶ The total number of demonstrative adjectives counted in each corpus and their text frequencies per 1000 words are found in Table 3.1.²⁷

Table 3.1 *Total number of demonstrative adjectives counted and their text frequencies*

	Demonstrative Adjectives	Approx. Freq. per 1000 words
Corpus 1 Lt	92	5
Corpus 2 Lt	84	8
Gr	63	5
Corpus 3 Lt	196	7
Heb	149	10

As before, the statistical analysis of the data is taken up after briefly exploring the raw data and some of the details of its textual sources.

²⁶ **Corpus 1: Original Writings** = Jerome's Epistles 1, 7, 14, 22, and 38 (Perseus; LCL 262; CSEL 54); the prologue to Jerome's translation of Origen's homilies on Ezekiel [and Jeremiah] (Marti 1974, from GCS 33); and the prologues to *Hebraicae Quaestiones* (CCSL 72) and *In Esaiam* (CCSL 73). **Corpus 2: Non-Scriptural Translations** = Jerome's translations (PG 13) of Origen's Homilies 1, 8, 9, 11, and 17 on Jeremiah, correlated with the Greek (TLG; SC 232; GCS 6). **Corpus 3: Old Testament Translations** = Jerome's translations of First Samuel, Esther, and Judith (BibleWorks 9; BSV), correlated with the Hebrew of First Samuel and Esther (BibleWorks 9; BHS).

²⁷ The text frequencies for Hebrew may be considered inflated compared to the other languages, since, in the total word counts, Hebrew clitics (the article, the conjunction *waw* 'and', some prepositions, and some pronouns) were not counted separately from the words to which they are attached.

C.1. Demonstrative Adjectives in Corpus 1

A summary of the data on demonstrative adjectives in Corpus 1, Jerome's original writings, is presented in Table 3.2.²⁸

Table 3.2 *Demonstrative adjectives in Corpus 1 (original writings)*

	DN	D_N	ND	N_D
Epistles	52	21	7	1
Prol. Hom.	3	0	0	0
Prol. HQG	1	1	0	0
Prol. In Es.	5	0	1	0
Total	61	22	8	1
%	66.30	23.91	8.70	1.09

While all of the four possible word orders are present in this corpus (though with but a single exemplar for the order N_D), preposed demonstratives (DN and D_N) account for an overwhelming 90.22% of instances.²⁹ This distribution is similar to that found in Latin from the Classical period (Lisón Huguet 2001, 115) to the sixth century (Wilkins 1940, 83),³⁰ as well as in other selections of St. Jerome's own writings (Heimann 1966, 58),³¹ confirming that, for Jerome as much as for other Latin authors, preposing of demonstrative adjectives constitutes a basic word order in Latin (LHS 407; Marouzeau 1:149).³²

²⁸ The underscore in the categories D_N and N_D once again represents some intervening word(s). The same conditions that were applied in the counting of genitives (Ch. II, n. 45) remain in force.

²⁹ As before, composite percentages are calculated from the raw counts and, because of discrepancies due to rounding, may be one hundredth of a percentage point higher (as here) or lower than would be expected from simply adding the percentages previously reported.

³⁰ See also Yoder ([1928] 1966, 97–99) on Aulus Gellius, but note the opposite tendency in Gellius for *iste* (99); and Muldowney (1937, 73) on St. Augustine.

³¹ Heimann provides data showing that, for the demonstratives *hic*, *iste*, *ille*, and *is*, 87.34% were preposed and 12.66% postposed. See the full summary of Heimann's data in Table 3.n (n. 34) below.

³² See Croft (2003, 43–44), following Dryer (1989, 70–71), regarding “basic” word orders.

In addition to this general trend of word order for demonstrative adjectives, the specific distribution of each of the demonstratives in question is worth noting.

Table 3.3 *Demonstrative adjectives in Corpus 1 by demonstrative*

	DN	D_N	ND	N_D
hic	30	8	0	0
iste	4	0	6	0
ille	14	10	2	1
is	6	3	0	0
idem	7	1	0	0

As Table 3.3 shows, the demonstratives *hic*, *is*, and *idem* are exclusively preposed in Corpus 1, and *ille* appears in postposition just 3 out of 27 times (11.11%); but *iste* actually favors postposition by a margin of 6 to 4 (60%).³³ That Jerome is consistent in his postposing of *iste*, however, cannot be maintained, since Heimann's study of his three *Vitae* finds all five instances of *iste* preposed (1966, 58). Indeed, none of the figures given in Table 3.3 should be taken as strictly definitive, but rather as representative of St. Jerome's typical usage, which (despite the numbers for *iste*) is generally corroborated by Heimann's data.³⁴

³³ Cf. the similar distribution for *iste* in Gellius's *Noctes Atticae* (Yoder [1928] 1966, 99).

³⁴ A summary of the data from Heimann (1966, 58) for the demonstrative adjectives in all three of Jerome's *Vitae* is presented in Table 3.n:

Table 3.n *Demonstrative adjectives reported in Heimann (1966, 58)*

	DN	D_N	ND	N_D
hic	23	11	2	0
iste	4	1	0	0
ille	16	5	8	0
is	9	0	0	0
Total	52	17	10	0
%	65.82	21.52	12.66	0.00

Fully a quarter of the demonstrative adjectives in Corpus 1 are separated from their nouns in hyperbaton.³⁵

- (27) in **hanc** lacrimarum deiectus est **vallem**
 into this:ACC.SG tear:GEN.PL cast:PRF.PASS.3SG valley:ACC.SG
 ‘[he] was cast into this valley of tears’ (Ep. 22.10.2)
- (28) **sermo** tibi **ille** conveniet
 saying:NOM.SG thou:DAT.SG that:NOM.SG suit:FUT.ACT.3SG
 ‘that saying shall suit thee’ (Ep. 22.1.5)

Most instances of hyperbaton are in the order D_N, as is *hanc . . . vallem* (27). The single instance of N_D hyperbaton is that of (28), where *sermo . . . ille* is split on either side of the unassociated pronoun *tibi*. These findings are also generally corroborated by Heimann (1966), whose data show 21.52% of demonstrative adjectives in the order D_N (see Table 3.n in n. 34 above).³⁶

C.2. Demonstrative Adjectives in Corpus 2

The data from Corpus 2, Jerome’s translations of several of Origen’s homilies, show a predominance of preposed Latin demonstratives (91.67%) similar to that of the previous corpus (90.22%). The Greek source text, while also preposing a majority of its demonstratives (69.84%), has a somewhat different distribution from that of the Latin, as

³⁵ Besides the examples provided here, see also (2) above.

³⁶ Lisón Huguet (2001, 118) discusses disjunction of the demonstrative from its noun among Classical authors, but with somewhat different parameters and no data on the number of such instances. Yoder ([1928] 1966, 97–99), Muldowney (1937, 75–86 passim), and Wilkins (1940, 74–82 passim) all present roughly similar data on disjunction in their respective studies, but again with somewhat different parameters.

seen in Table 3.4.³⁷

Table 3.4 *Demonstrative adjectives in Corpus 2 (non-scriptural translations)*

	DN		D_N		ND		N_D	
	Lt	Gr	Lt	Gr	Lt	Gr	Lt	Gr
Hom. 1	11	4	6	1	3	3	0	0
Hom. 8	30	21	1	0	2	9	0	0
Hom. 9	15	10	0	0	1	2	0	1
Hom. 11	6	6	0	0	1	2	0	0
Hom. 17	6	2	2	0	0	2	0	0
Total	68	43	9	1	7	18	0	1
%	80.95	68.25	10.71	1.59	8.33	28.57	0.00	1.59

If we once again break down the distribution by demonstrative, we find generally similar patterning in the Latin to that of Corpus 1; however, this time *iste*, besides being used more frequently overall, appears to behave more like the other demonstratives, with 17 of its 21 instances, or 80.95%, being preposed, as can be seen in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5 *Demonstrative adjectives in Corpus 2 by demonstrative*

Latin	DN	D_N	ND	N_D
hic	29	2	0	0
iste	14	3	4	0
ille	15	1	2	0
is	6	3	1	0
idem	4	0	0	0
Greek	DN	D_N	ND	N_D
οὗτος	29	1	13	1
ἐκεῖνος	12	0	5	0
ὅδε	2	0	0	0

³⁷ The PL edition of Jerome's translation contains one additional instance of the order DN in the phrase *haec gloriatio* ('this glorying', PL 25, 669 C), but the entire phrase has been added (see the footnote there). The PG edition, which I have followed, does not insert this phrase (PG 13, 371 C).

Since a simple comparison of the raw data for each language can be misleading, an accounting of the number of times the Latin is actually equivalent to the word order of a demonstrative adjective in Origen's Greek is presented in Table 3.6.

Table 3.6 *Correspondence of Latin and Greek demonstrative adjectives in Corpus 2*

	DN			D_N			ND			N_D		
	Lt	= Gr	Gr	Lt	= Gr	Gr	Lt	= Gr	Gr	Lt	= Gr	Gr
Hom. 1	11	1	4	6	1	1	3	2	3	0	0	0
Hom. 8	30	9	21	1	0	0	2	0	9	0	0	0
Hom. 9	15	7	10	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	1
Hom. 11	6	1	6	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0
Hom. 17	6	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Total	68	19	43	9	1	1	7	4	18	0	0	1

As with the findings on genitives in Chapter II (§ E.3), the data of Table 3.6 show that Jerome is frequently independent of his Greek source text in the placement of his demonstrative adjectives. For example, of Latin's 68 instances of the order DN, only 19 are directly based on the ordering of a demonstrative in the Greek. Thus 72.06% of St. Jerome's instances of DN are independent of the word order of his source text. For the order D_N, the Latin is independent 88.89% of the time.³⁸ A look at some of the specific transformations involved may serve to illustrate the numerical data.

The reversal of word order from ND in the Greek to DN in the Latin is a relatively simple example of the translator's independence, whether the demonstrative is

³⁸ Although Jerome has made significantly less use of hyperbaton with demonstratives in Corpus 2, appearing in only 10.71% of the instances here as compared to 25.00% of those in Corpus 1 (Table 3.2) and 21.52% of those in Heimann's (1966) data (see Table 3.n above), such disjunction is still far more common in his translations than can be justified by the 3.17% of instances in Origen's Greek.

the noun's only modifier apart from the article (29) or another adjective is present (30).³⁹

- (29) (a) ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένη ταύτῃ
 in the:DAT.SG world:DAT.SG this:DAT.SG
 'in this world' (Hom. 8.1.56)
- (b) in isto orbe
 in this:ABL.SG world:ABL.SG
 'in this world' (Hom. 8.1, 338 A)
- (30) (a) μείζονα τοῦ φθόγγου τούτου τοῦ
 greater:ACC.PL the:GEN.SG speech:GEN.SG this:GEN.SG the:GEN.SG
 ἀνθρωπίνου
 human:GEN.SG
 'greater than this human speech' (Hom. 1.8.52)
- (b) maiora isto sermone mortali
 greater:ACC.PL this:ABL.SG speech:ABL.SG mortal:ABL.SG
 'greater than this mortal speech' (Hom. 1.8, 266 B)

It may be asked whether the Greek article – itself a deictic adjective (Smyth § 1120c; BDF § 252) – has influenced the position of the Latin demonstrative in such instances. That is, do the Latin demonstratives represent the Greek articles as much as, or more than, the Greek demonstratives? The articles τῇ (29a) and τοῦ (30a) are both placed immediately before their respective nouns, just as the Latin demonstratives are in the corresponding translations. Furthermore, St. Jerome does at times render the Greek article itself with a Latin demonstrative, as in (31) and (32).⁴⁰

³⁹ The minor semantic shift in rendering the Greek ἀνθρωπίνου (30a) by the Latin *mortali* (30b) is, of course, not directly pertinent to the syntax of the phrase.

⁴⁰ For the Latin grammarians' association of the demonstrative adjectives *hic* and *iste* with the article in Greek, see the entries *articularis* and *articulus* in Schad (2007) and LS.

- (31) (a) ἐν τῷ τόπῳ
 in the:DAT.SG place:DAT.SG
 ‘in the place’ (Hom. 1.8.9)
- (b) in **hoc loco**
 in this:ABL.SG place:ABL.SG
 ‘in this place’ (Hom. 1.8, 263 C)
- (32) (a) τοῖς διδομένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ
 the:DAT.PL give:PRS.PASS.PTCP.DAT.PL by the:GEN.SG God:GEN.SG
 λόγοις
 word:DAT.PL
 ‘with the words given by (the) God’ (Hom. 1.14.22)
- (b) **his** qui ei dati sunt a Deo
 this:ABL.PL which:NOM.PL he:DAT.SG give:PRF.PASS.3PL by God:ABL.SG
sermonibus
 word:ABL.PL
 ‘with these words which were given to him by God’ (Hom. 1.14, 271 B)

Whether immediately preceding its noun as τῷ/*hoc* (31) or separated from it by several words as τοῖς/*his* (32), the Greek article in each of these examples has clearly been rendered by Jerome with a form of the Latin demonstrative *hic*. More importantly for the present investigation, he has even imitated the placement of the articles in his translations. Nevertheless, the apparent word-order literalism that the translator found expedient in some instances has given way to freedom in others.

- (33) (a) ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναγραφῆς ἐχούσης . . .
 from the:GEN.SG inscription:GEN.SG have:PRS.PTCP.GEN.SG
 ‘from the inscription having . . .’ (Hom. 1.3.19)
- (b) ex **superscriptione ista**, quae . . .
 from inscription:ABL.SG this:ABL.SG which:NOM.SG
 ‘from this inscription, which . . .’ (Hom. 1.3, 258 B)

- (34) (a) εἰς τὸν τόπον τῆς κακώσεως
 into the:ACC.SG place:ACC.SG the:GEN:SG affliction:GEN.SG
 ‘into the place of (the) affliction’ (Hom. 8.1.47)
- (b) in locum istum miseriarum
 into place:ACC.SG this:ACC.SG affliction:GEN.PL
 ‘into this place of afflictions’ (Hom. 8.1, 338 A)

While the Greek articles τῆς (33a) and τὸν (34a) appear once again to have been rendered by Latin demonstratives, the ND order of *superscriptione ista* (33b) and *locum istum* (34b) has effectively reversed the article–N word order of the Greek. Such freedom of word order calls into question the influence of the Greek articles (above that of the Greek demonstratives) on the Latin word order of examples (29) and (30). Indeed, it might be argued that the prepositioning of Latin demonstratives in (31) and (32) is due more to word choice than to the word order of the source text, the demonstrative *hic* being exclusively preposed in Corpora 1 and 2, whereas *iste* appears on either side of its noun in both corpora. For when the Latin uses *iste* to render the Greek article, it may be preposed (29–30) or postposed (33–34).

Another facet of word-order manipulation in Jerome’s translations is the introduction or removal of hyperbaton.

- (35) (a) ἐκείνη ἡ « αἰμορροῦσα »
 that:NOM.SG the:NOM.SG bleed:PRS.ACT.PTCP.NOM.SG
 ‘that « bleeding » [woman]’ (Hom. 17.5.11; Matt 9:20)
- (b) illa in Evangelio mulier sanguinem
 that:NOM.SG in Gospel:ABL.SG woman:NOM.SG blood:ACC.SG
 fluens
 flow:PRS.ACT.PTCP.NOM.SG
 ‘that bleeding woman in the Gospel’ (Hom. 17.5, 459 C)

Taking the Latin phrase *mulier sanguinem fluens* (35b) as the slightly more explicit equivalent of the Greek ἡ « αἰμορροοῦσα » (35a),⁴¹ it may be observed that Jerome has separated the demonstrative *illa* from its noun *mulier* by inserting the phrase *in Evangelio* between them (35b). This creates the hyperbatic order D_N, where the Greek (with its substantivized participle) merely had DN.

Hyperbaton with demonstrative adjectives in Origen's Greek itself is quite rare, there being only one instance each of the orders D_N and N_D in the Greek data of Corpus 2. Nevertheless, Jerome's translation undoes the latter instance as readily as it introduced the hyperbaton of (35) above.

- (36) (a) μετὰ **τὴν** **ἐπιδημίαν** αὐτοῦ **ταύτην** τὴν
 after the:ACC.SG presence:ACC.SG he:GEN.SG this:ACC.SG the:ACC.SG
 βλεπομένην
 see:PRS.PASS.PTCP.ACC.SG
 'after this visible presence of his' (Hom. 9.1.10)
- (b) post **hanc** **praesentiam** corporalem
 after this:ACC.SG presence:ACC.SG bodily:ACC.SG
 'after this bodily presence' (Hom. 9.1, 374 B)

Here the separation of the demonstrative ταύτην from its noun ἐπιδημίαν on account of the intervening possessive αὐτοῦ (36a), as well as the postposition of the demonstrative, has been reworked in Jerome's rendering by putting the Latin demonstrative *hanc* directly before its noun *praesentiam* and deleting the possessive altogether (36b). The fact that the N_D order of the Greek, the order least used by Jerome in his own writings

⁴¹ It is more explicit only insofar as it contains the word *mulier* 'woman', which is implicit in the Greek. The rendering of αἰμορροοῦσα by Latin *sanguinem fluens* is etymologically very literal, despite employing two words for the one of Greek.

(Corpus 1 has but a single instance, accounting for just 1.09% of its demonstrative adjectives), has been replaced by the order DN, which is by far the most common order in Corpus 1 (66.30%), strongly suggests that Jerome has preferred his native inclinations over the word order of his source text.

In addition to the subtler liberties of repositioning demonstrative adjectives and inserting demonstratives as renderings of Greek articles, there are also occasions when Jerome takes the greater liberty of paraphrasing his source text, which can result in the loss of a Greek demonstrative.

- (37) (a) οὗτοι οἱ θησαυροὶ ἐν Χριστῷ εἰσιν.
 this:NOM.PL the:NOM.PL treasure:NOM.PL in Christ:DAT.SG be:PRS.3PL
 ‘These treasures are in Christ.’ (Hom. 8.5.22)
- (b) In Christo sedem habent.
 in Christ:ABL.SG seat:ACC.SG have:PRS.ACT.3PL
 ‘In Christ they have [their] seat.’ (Hom. 8.5, 343 A)

By omitting the entire subject οὗτοι οἱ θησαυροὶ of (37a) from his rendering (37b), Jerome has, of course, left the demonstrative adjective unrepresented.

C.3. Demonstrative Adjectives in Corpus 3

The data from Corpus 3, Jerome's translations of the Scriptures, reveal a clear divergence in the distribution of Latin demonstrative adjectives from that of either of the previous corpora. Whereas the Latin of Corpora 1 and 2 overwhelmingly favored preposed demonstratives (90.22% and 91.67% respectively), the Latin demonstratives of Corpus 3 are preposed in just 37.24% of instances, as shown in Table 3.7.

Table 3.7 *Demonstrative adjectives in Corpus 3 (Old Testament translations)*

	DN		D_N		ND		N_D	
	Lt	Heb	Lt	Heb	Lt	Heb	Lt	Heb
1 Sam	27	0	3	0	97	121	1	4
Esth	17	0	2	0	6	20	0	4
Jdt	20	n/a	4	n/a	19	n/a	0	n/a
Total	64	0	9	0	122	141	1	8
%	32.65	0.00	4.59	0.00	62.24	94.63	0.51	5.37

It must be observed, however, that this shift in distribution is not followed to the same extent in each of the books belonging to Corpus 3. While St. Jerome's translation of First Samuel (which accounts for nearly two thirds of the data of Corpus 3) has shifted the most, with a mere 23.44% of its demonstratives being preposed, his version of Esther diverges the least from the previous corpora, preposing 76.00% of its demonstratives – a substantial majority, if still significantly less than that of Corpora 1 and 2. Meanwhile, Jerome's rendering of Judith holds a more evenly distributed middle ground with 55.81% of its demonstratives being preposed. In all three books, nonetheless, the shift toward greater postposition is undeniable; and taken as a whole, the distribution of demonstrative adjectives in Corpus 3 is quite different from both that of Jerome's original Latin writings and that of his translations from Origen's Greek.

Looking at the distribution of word orders by demonstrative, Table 3.8, we discover further noteworthy departures from the findings of Corpora 1 and 2.

Table 3.8 *Demonstrative adjectives in Corpus 3 by demonstrative*

Latin	DN	D_N	ND	N_D
hic	41	8	50	1
iste	5	1	22	0
ille	7	0	50	0
is	7	0	0	0
idem	4	0	0	0
Hebrew ⁴²	DN	D_N	ND	N_D
hazzeh	0	0	94	8
hahû'	0	0	45	0
hallāz	0	0	2	0

For example, the demonstrative adjective *hic*, which was exclusively preposed in Corpora 1 and 2, is postposed 51.00% of the time in Corpus 3. Likewise, *ille*, which was preposed in 88.89% of instances in both Corpus 1 and Corpus 2, is now postposed 87.72% of the time in Corpus 3. The only demonstratives which escape the effects of this shift towards postposition in Corpus 3 are *is* and *idem*.⁴³ The exclusive postposing of Hebrew demonstratives seen in Tables 3.7 and 3.8 appears to furnish the reason for this atypical positioning of Latin demonstratives – i.e., a close imitation in the Latin of the word order of its Hebrew source texts – but once again, the raw data is an insufficient basis for such a conclusion. Therefore, Table 3.9 provides an accounting of the actual number of times the word order of the Latin corresponds to that of its source text.

⁴² The Hebrew figures, of course, only reflect data from First Samuel and Esther, since there is no Hebrew source text for Judith.

⁴³ It may be worth recalling that these two are excluded by Marouzeau from the “Démonstratifs proprement dits” (1:155).

Table 3.9 *Correspondence of Latin and Hebrew demonstrative adjectives in Corpus 3*

	DN			D_N			ND			N_D		
	Lt = Heb	Heb	Heb	Lt = Heb	Heb	Heb	Lt = Heb	Heb	Heb	Lt = Heb	Heb	Heb
1 Sam	27	0	0	3	0	0	97	82	121	1	1	4
Esth	17	0	0	2	0	0	6	4	20	0	0	4
Jdt	20	n/a	n/a	4	n/a	n/a	19	n/a	n/a	0	n/a	n/a
Total	64	0	0	9	0	0	122	86	141	1	1	8

Despite the number of instances where the word orders of Latin demonstratives are independent of the Hebrew source texts (which is, of course, true for all preposed Latin demonstratives), Table 3.9 reveals a high degree of correspondence between St. Jerome's renderings and the Hebrew originals. For the order ND (which comprises nearly two thirds of the Latin data in Corpus 3), 83.50% of the Latin instances follow the order of the Hebrew and these account for 60.99% of Hebrew demonstratives in that order.⁴⁴ By comparison, 57.14% of the instances of the ND order in Jerome's translations in Corpus 2 imitate the order of Origen's Greek, accounting for just 22.22% of the Greek instances of that order. This heavy dependency of the Latin demonstrative adjectives in Corpus 3 on the word order of their source texts must account, at least in part, for the greater concentration of postposed demonstratives in the Latin of this corpus.

The vast majority of these imitative Latin demonstratives are found in First Samuel, with just a very few showing up in Esther. Among them are a number of individually unremarkable instances which only garner attention by their sheer frequency.

⁴⁴ These percentages are calculated from the data for First Samuel and Esther – that is, excluding the 19 instances of ND in Judith, since there is no Hebrew source text upon which they could be based.

The position of *hā'ēlleh* at the very end of its phrase (41a) is copied exactly in Jerome's Latin by the identical placement of *istorum* (41b).

Perhaps the extreme of St. Jerome's literalism with demonstratives appears in his rendering of phrases containing a universal quantifier. According to Salvi (2011, 45), of the possible word orders for a Latin phrase consisting of a noun, a universal quantifier, and a demonstrative, those which put the demonstrative in last place are "much rarer" than the other orders;⁴⁶ and he provides but a single example of such, being in the order Q(uantifier)–N(oun)–D(emonstrative). Yet it happens that this rare word order in Latin is in fact the typical ordering of such elements in Hebrew, where the quantifier *kōl* 'all' is a noun in the construct–genitive relationship with the quantified noun (the genitive) (IBHS § 9.5.3f), and the demonstrative adjective maintains its usual postposition, as in (42a).

- (42) (a) *kəkōl*-⁴⁷ *haddəbārîm* *hā'ēlleh*
 as:all:CST.SG the:word:ABS.PL the:these:PL
 '(as) all (of) these words' (1 Sam 25:9, 12)
- (b) *omnia* *verba* *quae* *dixerat*
 all:ACC.PL word:ACC.PL which:ACC.PL say:PLPRF.ACT.3SG
 'all the words which he had said' (1 Sam 25:12)
- (c) *omnia* *verba* *haec*
 all:ACC.PL word:ACC.PL this:ACC.PL
 'all these words' (1 Sam 25:9)

While Jerome alleviates the syntactical strain of this word order in 1 Sam 25:12 by way

⁴⁶ The context of Salvi's comment is a discussion on focalization in Latin, in which he reads the demonstrative-final word order as a "focalization of the demonstrative" (2011, 45).

⁴⁷ In 1 Sam 25:12 this is pointed *kəkōl* (with *holem* and no *maqep*), but with no difference of meaning. Jerome's copy, of course, would not have had any pointing at all, and these two instances are consonantly identical.

MSS do contain the demonstrative. When reconstructing the Hebrew *Vorlage*, then, the weight of the Latin evidence is not inconsiderable. Second, and more relevant to the present study, the frequency of this word order in St. Jerome's version of Judith provides further evidence of the influence of Semitic word order on that translation – that is, it likely constitutes a quantitative Semiticism (Rubio 2009, 204).

Jerome's departures from literalism in Corpus 3 are of various sorts, from simple additions and deletions to substitutions and paraphrases, but even these may reveal his meticulous attention to the words and word orders of his source texts. In several instances, for example, where the Latin has the order DN – appearing at first glance to be an intrusion of Latin word order over that of the Hebrew – the Latin demonstrative is in fact a rendering of the Hebrew article, “which is by nature a kind of demonstrative pronoun” (GKC § 35a), and is therefore preposed after the Hebrew manner.

- (43) (a) 'ānî **hā' iṣṣâ** hannişsebet . . .
 I:SG the:woman:ABS.SG the:stand:PTCP.ABS.SG
 ‘I [am] the woman standing . . .’ (1 Sam 1:26)
- (b) ego sum **illa mulier** quae . . .
 I:NOM.SG be:PRS.1SG that:NOM.SG woman:NOM.SG who:NOM.SG
 ‘I am that woman who . . .’ (1 Sam 1:26)
- (44) (a) wə**hā' iṣ** gādôl mə'ōd
 and:the:man:ABS.SG great:ABS.SG very
 ‘and the man [was] very great’ (1 Sam 25:2)
- (b) et **homo ille** magnus nimis
 and man:NOM.SG that:NOM.SG great:NOM.SG very
 ‘and that man [was] very great’ (1 Sam 25:2)

Thus in (43), the Latin phrase *illa mulier* (43b) is ordered according to the Hebrew

Here the N_D order of the Hebrew is carefully mimicked in the Latin, but with the substitution of the Latin *huiuscemodi* (45b) for the Hebrew *hā'ēlleh* (45a).

Finally, there are several instances in Corpus 3 where St. Jerome uses an ordinary Latin word or phrase which does not perfectly correspond to the syntax of the Hebrew source text, but which is, nonetheless, its natural semantic equivalent. The result of such a Latinistic translation may be the omission of a Hebrew demonstrative, as in (46).

- (46) (a) hinnēh **hayyôm** **hazzeh** rā'û 'ênê=kā . . .
 behold the:day:ABS.SG the:this:SG see:SFX.ACT.3PL eye:CST.DU=2SG.M
 'Behold, this day thine eyes have seen . . . ' (1 Sam 24:11)
- (b) ecce **hodie** viderunt oculi tui . . .
 behold today see:PRF.ACT.3PL eye:NOM.PL thy:NOM.PL
 'Behold, today thine eyes have seen . . . ' (1 Sam 24:11)

Jerome's rendering of the Hebrew phrase *hayyôm hazzeh* 'this day' (46a) with the single Latin adverb *hodie* 'today' (46b) requires the omission of the Hebrew demonstrative *hazzeh*.⁵¹ Yet one could hardly argue that this is a conscious transgression of the Hebrew word order, or even a purposeful deletion of the demonstrative.

⁵¹ The fact that *hodie* is etymologically the equivalent of *hoc die* 'this day' (LS s.v.) may temper the semantic shift; but even if Jerome understood it that way, it turns this from a necessary omission to an obligatory reversal of word order.

D. Statistical Analysis

As was done for the data on genitives in the previous chapter, this chapter's examination of the ordering of demonstrative adjectives in each corpus – with particular attention in the second and third corpora to the correspondence between source texts and their translations – is augmented in the following sections by a statistical comparison of the data sets. The consistency of the word order of Latin demonstrative adjectives from one corpus to another is analyzed, as is that between St. Jerome's translations of Judith and the other texts of Corpus 3.

Once again, a chi square test (test of independence) has been performed on each data set, with the null hypothesis being that the two variables (group affiliation and word order) are independent. The threshold for statistical significance remains at $p = .05$, but again the actual p -values for each chi square test are reported. As before, for this statistical portion of the investigation, in order to avoid low expected frequencies in the computation of the chi square tests, the fourfold division of word orders employed up to this point was reorganized into a bipartite arrangement, where DN subsumes D_N and ND does likewise with N_D.⁵³

D.1. Comparison of Latin Demonstrative Adjectives between Corpora

In keeping with the primary focus of this investigation, the first chi square tests for this chapter analyzed the distributions of word orders of demonstrative adjectives between the Latin of each corpus and that of the others. Table 3.10 presents the results of

⁵³ For further details of the methodology, see Ch. II, § F.

these chi square tests.⁵⁴

Table 3.10 *Comparison of Latin demonstrative adjectives between corpora*

A. Corpora 1 and 2: Original writings vs. translations from Greek		
	DN (incl. D_N)	ND (incl. N_D)
Corpus 1	83 (90.22%)	9 (9.78%)
Corpus 2	77 (91.67%)	7 (8.33%)
Chi Square Test: $p = .74$		

B. Corpora 1 and 3: Original writings vs. translations from Hebrew plus Judith		
	DN (incl. D_N)	ND (incl. N_D)
Corpus 1	83 (90.22%)	9 (9.78%)
Corpus 3	73 (37.24%)	123 (62.76%)
Chi Square Test: $p = 4.02 \times 10^{-17}$		

C. Corpora 2 and 3: Translations from Greek vs. translations from Hebrew plus Judith		
	DN (incl. D_N)	ND (incl. N_D)
Corpus 2	77 (91.67%)	7 (8.33%)
Corpus 3	73 (37.24%)	123 (62.76%)
Chi Square Test: $p = 5.88 \times 10^{-17}$		

The statistically significant p -values for the pairings of Corpora 1 and 3 ($p = 4.02 \times 10^{-17}$, Table 3.10.B) and of Corpora 2 and 3 ($p = 5.88 \times 10^{-17}$, Table 3.10.C) clearly establish the disparity of distribution of demonstrative adjectives between these pairings. This means that, as far as the ordering of demonstrative adjectives, St. Jerome's scriptural translations cannot be said to be conformed to his native syntax; nor can it be said that there is a common syntax among his translations, regardless of source and genre.⁵⁵ On

⁵⁴ As before, in all of the tables, percentages are provided to facilitate the reader's comparison of the data. The chi square tests, however, were performed on the raw counts in each set.

⁵⁵ It should be noted that these same pairings of corpora showed statistically significant disparities in the previous chapter for the ordering of both nominal genitives (Table 2.11) and pronominal genitives (Table 2.12), suggesting a more general dissonance between their word orders. The comparison of findings from one chapter to the next, however, will be taken up in the concluding chapter.

the other hand, the value $p = .74$ obtained from the comparison of Corpora 1 and 2 (Table 3.10.A) is clearly not statistically significant, and therefore the ordering of demonstrative adjectives found in Jerome's translations of Origen's Greek cannot be distinguished, statistically speaking, from that in his original Latin writings.

In order to clarify the implications of these latter findings, a chi square test was performed on the data from Corpus 2, comparing the distribution of demonstrative adjectives in the Greek source texts themselves to that in Jerome's Latin renderings. The results are presented in Table 3.11.

Table 3.11 *Comparison of demonstrative adjectives in Origen's Greek to those in St. Jerome's translations thereof (Corpus 2)*

	DN (incl. D_N)	ND (incl. N_D)
Greek	44 (69.84%)	19 (30.16%)
Latin	77 (91.67%)	7 (8.33%)
		Chi Square Test: $p = 5.99 \times 10^{-4}$

Given the significant p -value of 5.99×10^{-4} for this comparison, it appears that Jerome has indeed forsaken the word order of his Greek source texts in favor of his native Latin ordering. The fact that the same cannot be said about his translations from the Scriptures (Table 3.10.B) suggests that his claim in Ep. 57 of differentiated translation techniques is indeed accurate with respect to demonstrative adjectives.

D.2. Statistical Evaluation of the Translation of Judith

Since, as has already been noted, St. Jerome's translation of the book of Judith was not made from a Hebrew source text, but from a Chaldean (Aramaic) source which is no longer extant, and since according to his own prologue the rendering was more sense

for sense than word for word,⁵⁶ it is once again profitable to investigate whether the word order of his translation of Judith corresponds more to that of his original Latin writings (Corpus 1) – as might be expected of a sense-for-sense rendering – or to that of his other Old Testament translations, which were made from the Hebrew (i.e., the texts of Corpus 3 other than Judith). Therefore, chi square tests were performed on the data, comparing the distributions of demonstrative adjectives in Jerome’s translation of Judith both to those of his original Latin writings and to those of his translations from the Hebrew. The results are presented in Table 3.12.

Table 3.12 *Comparison of demonstrative adjectives in the translation of Judith to those in the original writings and the translations from Hebrew*

A. Corpora 1 and 3: Original writings vs. translation of Judith				
	DN (incl. D_N)		ND (incl. N_D)	
Corpus 1	83	(90.22%)	9	(9.78%)
Judith	24	(55.81%)	19	(44.19%)
Chi Square Test: $p = 4.36 \times 10^{-6}$				
B. Corpus 3: Translations from Hebrew vs. translation of Judith				
	DN (incl. D_N)		ND (incl. N_D)	
from Heb	49	(32.03%)	104	(67.97%)
Judith	24	(55.81%)	19	(44.19%)
Chi Square Test: $p = 4.36 \times 10^{-3}$				

In keeping with the findings for genitives in Chapter II,⁵⁷ Table 3.12.A clearly shows the statistically significant disparity between the distribution of word orders for demonstrative adjectives in St. Jerome’s translation of Judith and that in his original

⁵⁶ “Huic unam lucubrationem dedi, magis sensum e sensu quam ex verbo verbum transferens” (BSV 691; I gave this one night’s work, translating more sense for sense than word for word).

⁵⁷ See Table 2.13 and the discussion there.

writings, meaning that in this respect Jerome's native syntax is not evident in his translation of Judith. Of course, it does not automatically follow that his translation of Judith is therefore aligned with his other Old Testament translations. In fact, the significant disparity ($p = 4.36 \times 10^{-3}$) between the translation of Judith and the other translations of Corpus 3 (Table 3.12.B) shows a lack of homogeneity among the texts of Corpus 3. In order to clarify the relationships of these texts, chi square tests were performed on each pairing of translations within Corpus 3, the results being presented in Table 3.13.

Table 3.13 *Comparison of demonstrative adjectives between translations of Corpus 3*

A. Corpus 3: Translation of First Samuel vs. translation of Esther				
	DN (incl. D_N)		ND (incl. N_D)	
1 Samuel	30	(23.44%)	98	(76.56%)
Esther	19	(76.00%)	6	(24.00%)
Chi Square Test: $p = 2.58 \times 10^{-7}$				
B. Corpus 3: Translation of First Samuel vs. translation of Judith				
	DN (incl. D_N)		ND (incl. N_D)	
1 Samuel	30	(23.44%)	98	(76.56%)
Judith	24	(55.81%)	19	(44.19%)
Chi Square Test: $p = 7.76 \times 10^{-5}$				
C. Corpus 3: Translation of Esther vs. translation of Judith				
	DN (incl. D_N)		ND (incl. N_D)	
Esther	19	(76.00%)	6	(24.00%)
Judith	24	(55.81%)	19	(44.19%)
Chi Square Test: $p = .10$				

As Table 3.13 reveals, the ordering of demonstrative adjectives in St. Jerome's translation of First Samuel is significantly different from that in both his translation of Esther ($p = 2.58 \times 10^{-7}$) and his translation of Judith ($p = 7.76 \times 10^{-5}$). At the same time, the comparison of the translations of Esther and Judith with one another (Table. 3.13.C)

yields the non-significant value $p = .10$. This means that the disparity observed above in Table 3.12.B was not, as it first appeared, between the translation of Judith and the other translations of Corpus 3, but rather between the translation of First Samuel, on the one hand, and those of Esther and Judith, on the other. Nonetheless, because 65.31% of the Latin demonstrative adjectives in Corpus 3 come from Jerome's rendering of First Samuel, any composite reckoning of the texts in Corpus 3 is biased in favor of its distribution.

In order to obtain a more precise picture of the relationship between Corpus 1 and the translations of Corpus 3, therefore, a further set of chi square tests was carried out, comparing the distribution of demonstrative adjectives in the original writings of Corpus 1 to that in each of the individual translations of Corpus 3. The results of these tests are presented in Table 3.14.⁵⁸

Table 3.14 *Comparison of demonstrative adjectives in the original writings to those in each of the translations from Corpus 3*

A. Corpora 1 and 3: Original writings vs. translation of First Samuel				
	DN (incl. D_N)		ND (incl. N_D)	
Corpus 1	83	(90.22%)	9	(9.78%)
1 Samuel	30	(23.44%)	98	(76.56%)
			Chi Square Test: $p = 1.44 \times 10^{-22}$	
B. Corpora 1 and 3: Original writings vs. translation of Esther				
	DN (incl. D_N)		ND (incl. N_D)	
Corpus 1	83	(90.22%)	9	(9.78%)
Esther	19	(76.00%)	6	(24.00%)
			Chi Square Test: $p = .06$	
C. Corpora 1 and 3: Original writings vs. translation of Judith				
	DN (incl. D_N)		ND (incl. N_D)	
Corpus 1	83	(90.22%)	9	(9.78%)
Judith	24	(55.81%)	19	(44.19%)
			Chi Square Test: $p = 4.36 \times 10^{-6}$	

⁵⁸ Section C of Table 3.14 appeared above as section A of Table 3.12.

Although it was observed above in Table 3.10.B that Jerome's original writings (Corpus 1) were significantly different from the composite data for the Latin of Corpus 3 in respect to the distribution of demonstrative adjectives, the results of the chi square tests presented in Table 3.14 show that, taken individually, this statistically significant disparity applies only to the translations of First Samuel and Judith, while that of Esther fails to make the cut for statistical significance ($p = .06$).⁵⁹ This does not negate the value of the composite picture presented in Table 3.10.B, but requires that a more nuanced set of conclusions be drawn from the data collected. In turning to a summary of the findings for this chapter, then, we must keep in mind the implications of these variations within Corpus 3, while at the same time acknowledging the limited degree to which the data of this chapter alone can address the broader questions of the present investigation.

E. Summary and Conclusions for Demonstrative Adjectives

Beginning with St. Jerome's original Latin writings (Corpus 1), we find that demonstrative adjectives, though appearing in all four possible orders, are preposed (DN and D_N) in 90.22% of instances – a distribution similar to that found in the works of Latin authors from the Classical period to the sixth century (Lisón Huguet 2001, Wilkins 1940), as well as in other selections of Jerome's writings (Heimann 1966). Individually, the demonstratives (with the exception of *iste*)⁶⁰ exhibit this same preference, with the

⁵⁹ Despite combining the data into a bipartite arrangement, low data counts for this test resulted in one expected frequency (calculated as 3.21) being below the typical threshold for a chi square test. However, since the concern with such data is in the likelihood of making a Type I error, which is not the case with the statistically non-significant value $p = .06$, the analysis has been allowed to stand.

⁶⁰ The paucity of examples of *iste* in Corpus 1, combined with the contrary evidence in Heimann (1966), suggests that the slight favoring of postposition for *iste* in this corpus should not be taken as conclusive with regard to St. Jerome's overall usage.

extreme case being the adjective *hic*, which is preposed in all 38 instances. For Jerome, therefore, as much as for other Latin authors, preposing of demonstrative adjectives constitutes a basic word order in Latin (LHS 407; Marouzeau 1:149).⁶¹

The Latin translations of Origen's Greek in Corpus 2 exhibit a similar distribution of demonstrative adjectives to that of Corpus 1, with 91.67% being preposed. Indeed, despite a reduction in the frequency of hyperbaton (D_N and N_D) to less than half of that in Corpus 1,⁶² the variance of distribution between these corpora, when calculated from the bipartite arrangement, is not statistically significant ($p = .74$). On the other hand, the difference of distributions within Corpus 2 between the Latin translations and their Greek source texts is statistically significant ($p = 5.99 \times 10^{-4}$). These facts, combined with the low degree of actual correspondence between the Latin translations and their Greek source texts (Table 3.6), mean that St. Jerome's translations in Corpus 2 are aligned more or less with his native idiom and are not clearly dependent on Origen's Greek for their word order. The ordering of individual Latin demonstratives generally bears out the resemblance to Corpus 1, notably in that all 31 instances of the adjective *hic* in Corpus 2 are preposed.

A very obvious shift occurs in the Old Testament translations of Corpus 3, where 62.76% of Latin demonstratives are postposed,⁶³ including 51 out of 100 instances of the

⁶¹ The concept of a basic word order is again that proposed by Dryer (1989, 70–71) and followed by Croft (2003, 43–44). A basic word-order type can be established in a given language on the grounds that one order of a binary opposition is “at least twice as frequent as the alternative” (Croft 2003, 43).

⁶² This includes the lack of any instance of the order N_D among the 84 demonstratives in Corpus 2, which, while not particularly meaningful by itself – in Corpus 1 only 1 out of 92 demonstratives (1.09%) was in that order – is worth noting as part of the trend towards the less frequent use of hyperbaton.

⁶³ As noted above (in section C.3), this composite figure obscures the rather varied degrees of postposition in the individual texts of Corpus 3. Only First Samuel has a majority of Latin demonstratives in postposition (76.56%), while Esther has less than a quarter in postposition (24.00%), and Judith is more evenly split (44.19% postposed). Nonetheless, all three texts show a definite shift toward postposition, with First Samuel and Judith each being significantly different from Corpus 1 (see Table 3.14).

adjective *hic*.⁶⁴ The overall distribution for the translations of this corpus is significantly different both from that of the original writings in Corpus 1 ($p = 4.02 \times 10^{-17}$) and from that of the Latin translations in Corpus 2 ($p = 5.88 \times 10^{-17}$). Furthermore, the degree to which the Latin renderings of First Samuel and Esther correspond to their Hebrew source texts is fairly high (Table 3.9).⁶⁵ The inevitable implication of all this is that the distribution of Latin demonstrative adjectives in Corpus 3 is reflective of a close imitation of the Hebrew source texts, or, in the case of Judith, of at least a non-Latin influence which follows the Hebrew/Aramaic pattern.

Once again, from a typological point of view, these findings are very revealing for an assessment of St. Jerome's translation technique. If Latin, both generally and in Jerome's writings, observes a basic word order of preposed demonstrative adjectives, then the abandonment of that basic word order in favor of the opposite order, as found in the Latin of Corpus 3, is highly anomalous (see Table 3.15).

Table 3.15 *Binary tally of Latin demonstrative adjectives in Corpora 1 and 3*

	Composite Data		Individual Translations	
	DN (incl. D_N)	ND (incl. N_D)	DN (incl. D_N)	ND (incl. N_D)
Corpus 1	83 (90.22%)	9 (9.78%)		
Corpus 3	73 (37.24%)	123 (62.76%)		
(a) 1 Sam			30 (23.44%)	98 (76.56%)
(b) Esth			19 (76.00%)	6 (24.00%)
(c) Jdt			24 (55.81%)	19 (44.19%)

⁶⁴ Perhaps more dramatic than this shift in the distribution of *hic* is that of *ille*, which was preposed in 88.89% of instances in Corpus 1 and Corpus 2, but is postposed 87.72% of the time in Corpus 3.

⁶⁵ This assessment is based on the composite data for these two translations (the translation of Judith, of course, has no Hebrew source text to which it can be compared); by itself, the translation of Esther presents a more complicated picture.

As Table 3.15 shows, not only do the composite figures for Corpus 3 show a significant (if not definitive) favoring of postposition, but the figures for the translation of First Samuel are so dramatically realigned as to establish postposition as the basic word order in the Latin. This typological reversal, in clear imitation of the Hebrew and other source texts, may be accurately described as a quantitative Semiticism (Rubio 2009), and shows, as far as demonstrative adjectives, St. Jerome's close adherence to the word order of his biblical source texts.

Since, like Jerome's Latin, Origen's Greek also favors the pre-position of demonstrative adjectives as a basic word order (69.84% being preposed), there is no motivation for this kind of typological shift in the translations of Corpus 2. Therefore, no similar adherence can be inferred from the typology. Indeed, given the various evidence already rehearsed, it appears that St. Jerome's translations from the Greek in Corpus 2 are not dependent on their source texts for the word order of demonstrative adjectives, while his Old Testament translations (Corpus 3), on the whole, do show such a dependence.

CHAPTER IV – VERBS

A. Morphosyntactic Considerations

The position of the verb in its clause, both absolutely and relative to the positions of the subject and object, is the third and final instance of word order to be considered in this study. Latin, Greek, and Hebrew verbs are all inflected for person and number, while varying in the extent to which their morphology indicates tense, aspect, voice, mood, and gender (HBLG § 145; Smyth § 355; IBHS § 20.1). The robust morphology and indexation of verbs in these languages allows them a certain freedom with regard to the placement of the verb in its clause, and all three languages exhibit verbs at the beginning, middle, and end of clauses. At the same time, the preference of Latin for “the verb in the default clause final position” (Devine and Stephens 2006, 145)¹ is in marked contrast with Hebrew’s “general preference for verb–subject–object” ordering (IBHS § 38.1g, n. 13).² This difference provides a further opportunity to examine the typological consistency of St. Jerome’s word order and determine whether there is any influence of the Hebrew pattern of his source texts on his Latin translations of the Scriptures. Jerome’s translation from the Greek of a homily by Origen, representing the practice of his non-scriptural translations, is once again used as a further point of comparison.

¹ See also their presentation of the “Neutral order” of constituents in a clause (2006, 79), as well as LHS 397–406, and Marouzeau 2:47.

² See also Joüon and Muraoka 2016, § 155*k*; and GKC § 142*f*.

A.1. Latin Verbs

Latin verbal morphology makes regular use of inflections for tense/aspect, voice, mood, person, and number (HBLG § 145). Besides single-word synthetic forms, there are also a number of periphrastic forms composed of a participle and the auxiliary *sum* ‘be’ (HBLG §§ 153 and 162). Most common among these are forms with the perfect passive participle, which are necessarily used in the conjugation of the passive voice for the entire perfect system (perfect, pluperfect, and future perfect tenses).

- (1) *quae . . . servata est*
 who:NOM.SG save:PRF.PASS.PTCP.NOM.SG be:PRS.3SG
 ‘who . . . was saved’ (Ep. 1.9.2)
- (2) *quam plura sunt inventa*
 how many:NOM.PL be:PRS.3PL find:PRF.PASS.PTCP.NOM.PL
supplicia!
 punishment:NOM.PL
 ‘how many punishments have been found!’ (Ep. 1.5.1)
- (3) *quae prius fuerat³ quarto*
 who:NOM.SG previously be:PLPRF.3SG fourth:ABL.SG

percussa nec laesa
 strike:PRF.PASS.PTCP.NOM.SG and.not hurt:PERF.PASS.PTCP.NOM.SG
 ‘who previously had been struck a fourth [blow] and not hurt’ (Ep. 1.11.1)

The textbook ordering of these elements has the auxiliary immediately following the participle, as in (1); but the word order is not fixed and may be reversed, as in (2), or the auxiliary may be separated from its participle(s), as in (3). This mobility, and even disassociation of the participle from its auxiliary, presents significant problems for any

³ For the aspectually redundant use of perfect system forms of the auxiliary, see HBLG § 164.8.

attempt to describe the placement of the verb in these clauses, and for this and other reasons explained below (§ B.2), periphrastic forms were excluded from the data.

The place of a Latin verb may be at the beginning, middle, or end of its clause, both in main clauses (4–6) and in subordinate clauses (7–9):

- (4) **pareo** iam iubenti
obey:PRS.ACT.1SG now command:PRS.ACT.PTCP.DAT.SG
‘I now obey the one commanding’ (Ep. 1.2.2)
- (5) subito feminae **palpitat** pectus
suddenly woman:GEN.SG palpitate:PRS.ACT.3SG breast:NOM.SG
‘suddenly the woman’s breast palpitates’ (Ep. 1.12.2)
- (6) oculi . . . tantum fibulam **vident**
eye:NOM.PL only brooch:ACC.SG see:PRS.ACT.3PL
‘[her] eyes . . . only see the brooch’ (Ep. 1.8.1)
- (7) quia non **didici** litteras scripturarum
for:CONJ not learn:PRF.ACT.1SG letter:ACC.PL scripture:GEN.PL
‘for I have not learned the letters of the Scriptures’ (In Es. 39)
- (8) ut Origenem **faciam** Latinum
that:CONJ Origen:ACC.SG make:PRS.SBJV.ACT.1SG Latin:ACC.SG
‘that I make Origen Latin’ (Prolog. Hom. 1)
- (9) cum eculeus corpus **extenderet**
when rack:NOM.SG body:ACC.SG stretch:IPF.SBJV.ACT.3SG
‘when the rack was stretching [her] body’ (Ep. 1.3.3)

Despite this variety of positions, many scholars have argued and maintain that Latin – at least among authors of the Classical period – is a verb-final language in which initial (and medial) verbs are the result of pragmatic and other motivations.⁴ Others contend that

⁴ Besides Devine and Stephens (2006, 79 and 145), LHS 397–406, and Marouzeau 2:47, cited above (n. 1), see also Salvi (2011, 30–31), Bauer (1995, Ch. 4), Pinkster (1990, §§ 9.3.2.3–4), de Jong (1989, 524), Elerick (1989, 569–71), and Ostafin (1986, ii and 231).

Latin, while perhaps originally favoring final verbs, had shifted at some point to a verb-medial language, with final verbs being somewhat archaic or restricted to certain types of literature.⁵ Still others object to describing Latin word order in terms of syntax, choosing instead to explore the pragmatic motivations.⁶ What is generally agreed upon by scholars from all of these camps, however, is that initial verbs are marked in Latin.⁷

Without attempting to settle the question of Latin's basic word order for S(ubjects), O(bjects), and V(erbs), it may be observed that the placement of the verb in St. Jerome's original Latin writings is very much in conformity with the general trends of Classical as well as later Latin: most of his verbs appear at the ends of their clauses, with only a minority being found in initial position.⁸

⁵ Adams (1976, 93) seems to be one of the chief proponents of this view. Panhuis, though generally opposed to seeing a syntactic basis for word order (2006, § 382), follows Adams in considering medial verbs to be the norm in the colloquial register of Latin (see especially 1982, 145) and characterizes the preference for final verbs as "an artificial archaism" (1984, 156).

⁶ Spevak (2010) objects to the syntactic formulations engendered by "Greenbergian typology," preferring "to describe which pragmatic values correspond to the syntactic patterns one finds" (115–16); nonetheless, her data corroborate the tendency toward a verb-final order in Classical Latin. Panhuis (2006, 1984, 1982, 1981) also rejects a syntactic analysis: "The order of the sentence constituents in Latin has to be understood, not through a syntactic approach (subject, object, . . .), but from a communicative perspective" (1981, 296; cf. his similar, if less concise, statements in 2006, §§ 382–83). Nonetheless, when it comes to verbs, even Panhuis must admit that in some authors there is "a tendency to put the verb at the end, irrespective of its degree of communicative dynamism. . . . The place of the verb thus does not conform to the ideal distribution of the constituents in the sentence according to their degree of communicative dynamism" (2006, § 385).

⁷ Devine and Stephens (2006, Ch. 2), Panhuis (2006, § 395; 1982, 146), Bauer (1995, 92–97), and Marouzeau (2:49–82); and by implication, Moure Casas (2007, 149–50), de Jong (1989), Elerick (1989, 569), and Adams (1976, 99).

⁸ For an explanation of medial verbs in Jerome's Latin, and why they are not a focus of this investigation, see below (§ C.1). Jerome's preference for putting his verb in final position is corroborated by Heimann (1966, Ch. 10). There is a similar, if somewhat weaker, inclination toward final position in the works of his contemporary St. Augustine, as shown by Muldowney (1937, Part II, Ch. 1). Wilkins (1940, Part II, Chs. 2 and 4) provides data demonstrating a somewhat more diminished favoring of final position in sermons of the fifth and sixth centuries, though even in these, final position is used more often than either of the other positions individually. It should be noted that these authors (for example, Muldowney 1937, 107n34), following Linde (1923) and others, use prosodic criteria to justify allowing a greater number and variety of words to precede initial verbs than have been allowed in the present investigation.

A.2. Greek Verbs

A very similar morphology to that of Latin is employed by Greek verbs, which also inflect for tense/aspect, voice, mood, person, and number (Smyth § 355). The greater part of the Greek conjugational system consists of single-word synthetic forms, but there are, as in Latin, various more or less necessary periphrastic forms with an auxiliary and a participle (Smyth § 599, 1961–1962; BDF §§ 4, 352–356):

- (10) Οἱ ἐν Σοδόμοις καὶ Γομόρροις ἦσαν
 the:NOM.PL in Sodom:DAT.PL and Gomorrah:DAT.PL be:IPF.3PL
καταδεδικασμένοι
 condemn:PERF.PASS.PTCP.NOM.PL
 ‘The [people] in Sodom and Gomorrah had been condemned’ (Hom. 1.1.18)
- (11) καὶ ἦσαν κριθέντες εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν
 and be:IPF.3PL sentence:AOR.PASS.PTCP.NOM.PL unto captivity:ACC.SG
 ἐγκαταλειφθῆναι
 abandon:AOR.PASS.INF
 ‘and they were sentenced to be abandoned unto captivity’ (Hom. 1.3.2)

The few such forms found in Origen’s homily, however, were excluded from the data for the same reasons as the Latin periphrastic verbs (as explained below in section B).⁹

The placement of the Greek verb is much like that of Latin, with verbs appearing at the beginning, middle, and end of their clauses, both in main clauses (12–14) and in subordinate clauses (15–17):

⁹ Besides the two examples given, only two other instances of this type of periphrasis were found in the homily (1.2.11 which incorporates a scriptural quotation, and 1.16.2).

- (12) **Κατεδίκησεν** ὁ θεὸς τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ . . .
condemn:AOR.ACT.3SG the:NOM.SG God:NOM.SG the:ACC.SG Jerusalem:ACC.SG
'(The) God condemned (the) Jerusalem . . .'
(Hom. 1.3.1)
- (13) Ἰερεμίας ἐξαιρέτου **ἔτυχε** δωρεᾶς
Jeremiah:NOM.SG choice:GEN.SG obtain:AOR.ACT.3SG gift:GEN.SG
'Jeremiah obtained a choice gift'
(Hom. 1.5.15)
- (14) καὶ ἄλλα δὲ μυρία . . . ἡ προφητεία
also other:ACC.PL and countless:ACC.PL the:NOM.SG prophecy:NOM.SG
αὐτοῦ δεδήλωκεν
he:GEN.SG show:PRF.ACT.3SG
'and his prophecy has also shown countless other [things] . . .'
(Hom. 1.13.25)
- (15) ὅτι οὐχ **ἔπονται** ἐκεῖνοι τῷ Λώτ
that:CONJ not follow:PRS.DPNT.3PL that:NOM.PL the:DAT.SG Lot[DAT.SG]
'that they are not following (the) Lot'
(Hom. 1.1.23)
- (16) ὅτι ὁ σωτὴρ **ἐξερρίζωσε** τὰς
that:CONJ the:NOM.SG savior:NOM.SG uproot:AOR.ACT.3SG the:ACC.PL
τοῦ διαβόλου βασιλείας
the:GEN.SG devil:GEN.SG kingdom:ACC.PL
'that the Savior uprooted the devil's kingdoms'
(Hom. 1.7.20)
- (17) ὅτι τινὰ οὐκ **ἐπίσταται**
that:CONJ some:ACC.PL not know:PRS.DPNT.3SG
'that he does not know some [things]'
(Hom. 1.8.11)

Just as in Latin, there is some ambiguity and debate as to the basic, or unmarked, order of the constituents in a Greek sentence; but for the purposes of this investigation, it will be sufficient to accept Taylor's (1994) argument that "the data reflect an ongoing change from verb-final [SOV] to verb-medial [SVO] structure beginning at or before Homer and nearing completion 800 years later with the Koiné of the Hellenistic period" (2).¹⁰ The preference for medial verbs in Origen's homily fits this picture of Greek word order.

¹⁰ Taylor's assessment is generally corroborated by Dover's (1960, 25) classic treatment of the matter; cf. also the data in Rife (1931, Ch. 4).

subordinate clauses (23–25):

- (20) **wayyēda** ‘’elqānā ’et- ḥannā ’išt=ô
 and:know:WPFX.ACT.3SG Elkanah OBJ Hannah wife:CST.SG=3SG.M
 ‘and Elkanah knew Hannah his wife’ (1 Sam 1:19)
- (21) YHWH **yādîn** ’apsê- ’āreṣ
 YHWH judge:PFX.ACT.3SG end:CST.PL earth:ABS.SG
 ‘the LORD shall judge the ends of the earth’ (1 Sam 2:10)
- (22) raglê ḥāsîdā=w **yîšmōr**
 foot:CST.PL pious:CST.PL=3SG.M keep:PFX.ACT.3SG
 ‘he will keep the feet of his pious [ones]’ (1 Sam 2:9)
- (23) ‘im- **yehēṭā**’ ’îš lə=’îš
 if sin:PFX.ACT.3SG man:ABS.SG against=man:ABS.SG
 ‘if a man sins against a man’ (1 Sam 2:25)
- (24) wə’im l=YHWH **yehēṭā**’ - ’îš
 but:if against=YHWH sin:PFX.ACT.3SG man:ABS.SG
 ‘but if a man sins against the LORD’ (1 Sam 2:25)
- (25) kî ’et- ḥannā ’**āheb**
 for:CONJ OBJ Hannah love:SFX.ACT.3SG
 ‘for he loved Hannah’ (1 Sam 1:5)

It is generally agreed, however, that Hebrew clauses prefer initial verbs (IBHS § 8.3b; Joüon and Muraoka 2016, § 155*k*; GKC § 142.2).¹² This is especially the case in continuous narrative, where Hebrew regularly employs a construction known variously as “*wāw* consecutive” (GKC § 49), “*Waw* inversive” (Joüon and Muraoka 2016, § 117), “*waw*-conversive” (IBHS § 29.2b), and “*waw*-relative” (IBHS § 32.1), among other names.¹³ In

¹² Though objecting to a syntactic analysis of the matter, Revell (1989) acknowledges the fact that “the verb . . . typically stands first in each clause” (2–3).

¹³ For a good summary of the theories behind these and other terms for this phenomenon, see IBHS Ch. 29.

this construction, the proclitic conjunction ‘and’ (consonantly represented by the letter *waw*) is attached to a verb in first position, relating that verb/clause to a preceding one in a unified narrative flow. Unlike a simple ‘and’, this “relative” use of the conjunction coincides with certain phonological/morphological changes in the shape of the verb, as well as some much-debated changes to its aspect.¹⁴ Of primary significance to this study, however, is the fact that this common construction necessitates that the verb be in first position, immediately succeeding and attached to the conjunction – an order sharply contrasting with the unmarked order of Latin (and Greek). Examples of the *waw*-relative may be seen in (19) and (20) above.

B. Clauses and Verbs Excluded from the Data

For reasons both practical and theoretical, several types of clauses and verbs have been excluded from the data: (1) clauses without a finite verb, or with only a verb; (2) the verb ‘be’, alone and as an auxiliary; (3) imperatives; (4) relative and interrogative clauses; (5) clauses with discontinuous compound S or O; and (6) clauses where S or O is an embedded predication.

B.1. Clauses without a Finite Verb, or with Only a Verb

Those clauses which lack a verb altogether, as with the Hebrew nominal clause in (26) below,¹⁵ and those clauses which are composed of only a verb (Latin, Greek, and

¹⁴ All of these details are treated at length in IBHS Chs. 29, 32, and 33. See also Joüon and Muraoka 2016, §§ 117–19; and GKC § 49.

¹⁵ See IBHS § 8.3c. The absence of a verb does not, of course, equate to the absence of a predicate. For word order in Hebrew’s verbless (nominal) clauses, see Revell (1989) and IBHS § 8.4.

single *est* in the role of auxiliary.

- (35) **quaesitum** **est** et **inventum**
 seek:PRF.PASS.PTCP.N.NOM.SG be:PRS.3SG and find:PRF.PASS.PTCP.N.NOM.SG
 et **adpensus** **uterque** **eorum** **in**
 and hang:PRF.PASS.PTCP.M.NOM.SG each:M.NOM.SG they:GEN.PL on
 patibulo **mandatum=que** **historiis** et
 gibbet:ABL.SG commit:PRF.PASS.PTCP.N.NOM.SG=and history:DAT.PL and
 annalibus **traditum** **coram** **rege**
 annals:DAT.PL set.down:PRF.PASS.PTCP.N.NOM.SG before king:ABL.SG
 ‘And it was sought and found, and each of them was hanged on a gibbet, and
 it was committed to the histories and set down in the annals before the king.’
 (Esth 2:23)

Furthermore, some participles are just as easily analyzed as simple predicate adjectives, divested of any share in the verb phrase, as in (36).

- (36) **qui** **est** **perfectus**
 who:nom.sg be:prs.3sg perfect:PRF.PASS.PTCP.NOM.SG
 ‘who has been perfected’ or ‘who is perfect’ (Hom. 1.7, 263 B)

Because of these issues, and given that in such verb phrases the inflection resides with the auxiliary, while the semantic content belongs to the participle, it seemed highly impractical, if not impossible, to attempt a consistent argument for the position of these periphrastic verbs in their clauses. Therefore, all such verb phrases were excluded from the data.²⁷ This decision affected all three languages; but the Latin was the most severely

²⁷ Modal/temporal auxiliaries taking infinitives, on the other hand, such as Latin *possum* ‘can’ and Greek μέλλω ‘be destined (to)’ or ‘will’, because they bear some of the semantic content of the verb phrase, were treated as the verbs of their clauses.

imperatives, as well as those subjunctives termed “imperativische Konjunktiven” (LHS 403) or “le subjonctif injonctif” (Marouzeau 2:52) – i.e. subjunctives used as imperatives³⁰ – were excluded from the data for all three languages.

B.4. Relative and Interrogative Clauses

Much the same as they did for genitives (Ch. II, § D.3), relative and interrogative words present certain difficulties for investigating the placement of the verb in its clause because of their fixed initial position (HBLG §§ 624.7–624.8; Smyth §§ 2489, 2498, 2499, 2642, and 2663; IBHS §§ 18.1 and 19.3).³¹ Besides simply precluding verbs from absolute initial position (38), such words frequently have the role of S (39) or O (40–41):

(38) De **cuius** mysteriis testatur ipse
 about who:GEN.SG mystery:ABL.PL testify:PRS.DPNT.3SG he.himself:NOM.SG
 ‘About whose mysteries he himself testifies’ (In Es. 33)

(39) (a) **mî** yitpallel- l=ô
 who intercede:PFX.ACT.3SG for=3SG.M
 ‘who will intercede for him?’ (1 Sam 2:25)

(b) **quis** orabit pro eo
 who:NOM.SG pray:FUT.ACT.3SG for he:ABL.SG
 ‘who will pray for him?’ (1 Sam 2:25)

³⁰ See also Gildersleeve § 263; HBLG §§501.3 and 530.

³¹ See also Spevak (2010, 13 and 196). Exceptions where relative or interrogative words are placed later in their clause, as in (a), are too rare to call into question the general fixity of the placement of these words.

(a) Ἰερემίας **ποῖα** ἔθνη ἐξερρίζωσε . . . ;
 Jeremiah:NOM.SG what:ACC.PL nation:ACC.PL up.root:AOR.ACT.3SG
 ‘What nations has Jeremiah uprooted . . . ?’ (Hom. 1.6.16)

Furthermore, even in this instance, given the overall context of the passage, a better reading might be: ‘[As for] Jeremiah – what nations has he uprooted . . . ?’ (Note, however, that Jerome’s translation moves ‘Jeremiah’ to the end of the clause, allowing the interrogative to stand first.)

- (40) (a) **οὓς** ἐγκατέλιπε
 who:ACC.PL abandon:AOR.ACT.3SG
 ‘[those] whom he abandons’ (Hom. 1.4.4)
- (b) **quos** deserit
 who:ACC.PL abandon:PRS.ACT.3SG
 ‘[those] whom he abandons’ (Hom. 1.4, 258 C)
- (41) (a) (haddābār) ’āšer dibber ’ēlē=kā
 the:word:ABS.SG which speak:SFX.ACT.3SG to=2SG.M
 ‘(the word) which he spoke to thee’ (1 Sam 3:17)
- (b) (sermo) **quem** locutus est ad
 word:NOM.SG which:ACC.SG speak:PRF.DPNT.PTCP.NOM.SG be:PRS.3SG to
 te
 thou:ACC.SG
 ‘(the word) which he spoke to thee’ (1 Sam 3:17)

Or, as genitives, they may limit S or O, increasing the likelihood that that constituent will be preposed to the verb, as in (42):

- (42) (larvarum) **quarum natura** esse dicitur
 ghost:GEN.PL who:GEN.PL nature:NOM.SG be:PRS.INF say:PRS.PASS.3SG
 terrere parvulos
 frighten:PRS.ACT.INF little.child:ACC.PL
 ‘(ghosts) whose nature is said to be to frighten little children’ (HQG 3.16)

In all such instances, the preclusion or biasing of certain word orders makes these clauses unsuitable for this investigation.³²

Interrogative clauses which do not use *wh*-words, i.e. *yes–no* questions, are also

³² See de Jong (1989, 521) for a similar determination. Generally, this exclusion also extends to relative and interrogative adverbs, as similarly restricted to initial position (Spevak 2010, 196; Panhuis 2006 § 392). However, when these adverbs pass over into the role of conjunction (cf. Pinkster 1990 §§ 5.4 and 7.3.3; and see, for example, LS s.v. *quando*), they have been allowed as such in the data.

Therefore, the clauses in (43) were counted as VS, and those in (44) as VO.

On the other hand, clauses whose compound constituents are discontinuous and separated by another counted constituent, S, V, or O, were not included among the data, because it would have been impractical, if not impossible, to satisfactorily account for the dual location of the discontinuous constituents.³⁴

- (45) **Aquilam** loquor **et Symmachum** **et**
 Aquila:ACC.SG speak.about:PRS.DPNT.1SG and Symmachus:ACC.SG and
Theodotionem
 Theodotion:ACC.SG
 ‘I am speaking about Aquila and Symmachus and Theodotion’ (HQG 3.4)
- (46) (a) οὐ « **λαβῖς** » αὐτῷ πέμπεται οὐδὲ « ἀπὸ τοῦ
 not tongs:NOM.SG he:DAT.SG send:PRS.PASS.3SG nor from the:GEN.SG
 θυσιαστηρίου **ἄνθραξ** »
 altar:GEN.SG coal:NOM.SG
 ‘« tongs » were not sent to him nor « a coal from the altar »’ (Hom. 1.14.12)
- (b) Ieremiae autem . . . non **forceps** mittitur, neque
 Jeremiah:DAT.SG but not tongs:NOM.SG send:PRS.PASS.3SG nor
 de altari **carbo succensus**
 from altar:ABL.SG coal:NOM.SG inflame:PRF.PASS.PTCP.NOM.SG
 ‘but to Jeremiah . . . tongs were not sent, nor an inflamed coal from the altar’
 (Hom. 1.14, 271 A)

The compound elements of O which are placed on either side of V in (45), as well as the

³⁴ These discontinuous compound constituents were almost entirely S and O. A single instance of discontinuous compound V (1 Sam 2:6) was excluded, not for being interrupted by S or O, but for occupying both the initial and final places of the clause.

Cf. the similar exclusion in Taylor (1994, 9–10). Unlike in Taylor, however, this decision did not affect simple constituents whose adjectives or genitives were separated from their nouns by hyperbaton. Rather, in those instances the placement of the noun was considered determinative.

bare infinitive in (51), *mori* ‘to die’. This could be taken as merely a deverbal noun, but one could also easily posit an implied accusative subject ‘myself’, as was done for (50). Moreover, considering the parallel infinitive phrase in the second part of (51), where – questions of accusative subjects aside – the infinitive takes its own O, one can see the predication inherent in an infinitive. Instead of attempting to distinguish more clausal infinitives from less clausal ones, all infinitives and infinitive phrases used as S or O were treated alike, and their matrix clauses were disqualified.

Other varieties of embedded predication which appear as S or O and thereby disqualify their matrix clauses include (c) noun clauses introduced by the conjunction ‘that’,³⁹ as in (52–53):

- (52) (a) φαίνεται γὰρ ὅτι ὁ σωτήρ
 make.clear:PRS.PASS.3SG for:CONJ that:CONJ the:NOM.SG savior:NOM.SG
 ἐξερρίζωσε τὰς τοῦ διαβόλου βασιλείας
 up.root:AOR.ACT.3SG the:ACC.PL the:GEN.SG devil:GEN.SG kingdom:ACC.PL
 ‘for it is clear that the Savior uprooted the devil’s kingdoms’ (Hom. 1.7.19)
- (b) Apparet enim quia Salvator eradicaverit
 be.clear:PRS.ACT.3SG for:CONJ that:CONJ Savior:NOM.SG up.root:PRF.SBJV.ACT.3SG
 regna diaboli
 kingdom:ACC.PL devil:GEN.SG
 ‘For it is clear that the Savior uprooted the devil’s kingdoms’ (Hom. 1.7, 262 C)

³⁹ In the examined texts, these are introduced by Latin *quia*, *quod*, *quoniam*, and *ut*; Greek ἵνα (in a single irrelevant instance, Hom. 1.13.32, as the O of a participle) and ὅτι; and Hebrew *’im* (in a single instance, 1 Sam 3:14, as the introduction of a curse), *’āšer*, and *kî*.

(e) indirect questions,⁴³ as in (56–57):

- (56) καὶ ἀναγράφεται, πότε ἤρξατο προφητεύειν
and record:PRF.PASS.3SG when begin:AOR.DPNT.3SG prophesy:PRS.INF.ACT
Ἰερεμίας
Jeremiah:NOM.SG
‘and it is recorded when Jeremiah began to prophesy’ (Hom. 1.2.5)
- (57) ut nescirent **quid loquerentur**
that:CONJ not.know:IPF.SBJV.ACT.3PL what:ACC.SG say:IPF.SBJV.DPNT.3PL
‘[such] that they would not know what they were saying’ (In Es. 47)

and (f) direct quotations,⁴⁴ as in (58–59):

- (58) (a) εἴτε δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἰερεμίαν εἴτε πρὸς τὸν
whether but to the:ACC.SG Jeremiah:ACC.SG or to the:ACC.SG
σωτῆρα λέγεται· « Πρὸ τοῦ με πλάσαι
savior:ACC.SG say:PRS.PASS.3SG before the:GEN.SG I:ACC.SG form:AOR.INF.ACT
σε ἐν κοιλίᾳ ἐπίσταμαί σε »
thou:ACC.SG in womb:DAT.SG know:PRS.MID.1SG thou:ACC.SG
‘but whether to (the) Jeremiah or to the savior it is said: « Before I formed thee
in [the] womb, I know thee »’ (Hom. 1.10.1, quoting Jer 1:5)
- (b) Sive autem ad Ieremiam, sive ad Salvatorem dicitur:
whether but to Jeremiah:ACC.SG or to Savior:ACC.SG say:PRS.PASS.3SG
« Priusquam te plasmarem in utero,
before thou:ACC.SG form:IPF.SBJV.ACT.3SG in womb:ABL.SG
novi te »
come.to.know:PRF.ACT.1SG thou:ACC.SG
‘But whether to Jeremiah, or to the Savior it is said: « Before I formed thee
in the womb, I know thee »’ (Hom. 1.10, 266 C, quoting Jer 1:5)

⁴³ There are no examples of indirect questions in the Hebrew texts examined.

⁴⁴ Indirect quotations as S or O manifest themselves either as ACIs (§ B.1) or as noun clauses introduced by ‘that’ (above in this same section).

- (59) (a) wayyō' mer l=āh 'elqānâ 'îš=āh ḥannâ
 and:say:WPFX.ACT.3SG to=3SG.F Elkanah husband:CST.SG=3SG.F Hannah
lāmeḥ tibkî
 why weep:PFX.ACT.2SG
 'and Elkanah her husband said to her, « Hannah, why dost thou weep? »'
 (1 Sam 1:8)
- (b) dixit ergo ei Helcana vir
 say:PRF.ACT.3SG then she:DAT.SG Elkanah:NOM.SG husband:NOM.SG
 suus **Anna** **cur** **fles**
 her:NOM.SG Hannah:VOC.SG why weep:PRS.ACT.2SG
 'then Elkanah her husband said to her, « Hannah, why dost thou weep? »'
 (1 Sam 1:8)

The fact that all of these varieties of embedded predication (a–f), whether as S or O, introduce complicating, and possibly confounding, factors into the assessment of the word order of S, O, and V, is what led to their exclusion from the data.

C. Data and Commentary

Verbs were generally plentiful in each of the three corpora, despite the restrictions set forth above. The first three chapters of Judith, however, proved a bit meager in comparison with the other selections, and so this text was augmented by including its fourth and fifth chapters as well. Otherwise, the selections remained the same as those used for genitives (Ch. II).⁴⁵ The total number of verbs counted in each corpus and their

⁴⁵ **Corpus 1: Original Writings** = Jerome's Epistle 1 (Perseus; LCL 262; CSEL 54); the prologue to Jerome's translation of Origen's homilies on Ezekiel [and Jeremiah] (Marti 1974, from GCS 33); and the prologues to *Hebraicae Quaestiones* (CCSL 72) and *In Esaiam* (CCSL 73). **Corpus 2: Non-Scriptural Translation** = Jerome's translation (PG 13) of Origen's Homily 1 on Jeremiah, correlated with the Greek (TLG; SC 232). **Corpus 3: Old Testament Translations** = Jerome's translations of First Samuel 1–3, Esther 1–3, and Judith 1–5 (BibleWorks 9; BSV), correlated with the Hebrew of First Samuel 1–3 (including the first clause of 4:1, following the Latin) and Esther 1–3 (BibleWorks 9; BHS).

text frequencies per 1000 words are given in Table 4.1:⁴⁶

Table 4.1 *Total number of verbs counted and their text frequencies*⁴⁷

		Main Clause Verbs	Approx. Freq. per 1000 words	Subordinate Cl. Verbs	Approx. Freq. per 1000 words
Corpus 1	Lt	126	43	69	24
Corpus 2	Lt	103	26	64	16
	Gr	91	22	73	17
Corpus 3	Lt	266	54	134	27
	Heb	194	80	32	13

The placement of the verb in its clause was measured in two different ways: namely, absolutely (initial, medial, and final)⁴⁸ and in relation to S and/or O. The first

⁴⁶ Among other things, one may note in these figures the frequent hypotaxis of Origen's Greek, with a 1.25 ratio of main to subordinate verbs; the somewhat less hypotactic nature of Jerome's original Latin, with 1.83; and the very paratactic nature of Hebrew, with 6.06. Interestingly, it appears that Jerome's translations substantially impose his own degree of Latinate hypotaxis on their source texts, with his rendering of the Greek showing a 1.61 ratio, and that of the Hebrew 1.99. These findings, however, are outside the scope of the present investigation.

⁴⁷ The text frequencies for Hebrew may be considered inflated compared to the other languages, since, in the total word counts, Hebrew clitics (the article, the conjunction *waw* 'and', some prepositions, and some pronouns) were not counted separately from the words to which they are attached.

⁴⁸ Verbs were counted as absolutely initial after conjunctions – including multiple conjunctions, as ὄτε δὲ / *Quando autem* 'But when' (Hom. 1.8.45, and 266 B) – as well as conjunctive adverbs and negatives. All other adverbs, phrases, etc. precluded the designation of absolute initial (or final) position. Subordinate clauses, when not embedded within their matrix clauses, did not preclude the designation of absolute initial or final position – the only exception being in a handful of instances where the matrix clause would be misconstrued or vacuous without the following subordinate clause:

(a) Nemo autem proficit, qui est perfectus
no.one:NOM.SG now advance:PRS.ACT.3SG who:NOM.SG be:PRS.3SG perfect:NOM.SG
sed ille proficit, qui indiget profectu.
but he:NOM.SG advance:PRS.ACT.3SG who:NOM.SG lack:PRS.ACT.3SG advancement:ABL.SG
'Now no one who is perfect advances, but he who lacks advancement advances.'
(Hom. 1.7, 263 A)

Here, the syntactic subjects *Nemo* 'no one' and *ille* 'he' are deficient without the "real" subjects, whose semantic content is found in the subsequent relative clauses (in both instances representing participles in the Greek source text). Thus both of these matrix clauses are counted as V-medial. Besides the two instances presented here, this determination only affected the Latin in four other clauses (Prol. Hom. 21, HQG 3.14, In Es. 62, and Jdt 4:6).

helps account for those instances where V is initial (as is typical of Hebrew) or final (as is typical of Latin), but the clause lacks overt S and O, as in (60–61).

- (60) (a) **wayyištaḥwû** li=pnê YHWH
 and:bow.down:WPFX.ACT.3PL in=front:CST.PL YHWH
 ‘and they bowed down in front of the LORD’ (1 Sam 1:19)
- (b) et **adoraverunt** coram Domino
 and worship:PRF.ACT.3PL in.front.of Lord:ABL.SG
 ‘and they worshipped in front of the Lord’ (1 Sam 1:19)
- (61) iam enim ad Evagrii nostri nomen **advenimus.**
 now for:CONJ at Evagrius:GEN.SG our:GEN.SG name:ACC.SG arrive:PRF.ACT.1PL
 ‘For now we have arrived at our Evagrius’s name.’ (Ep. 1.15.1)

The second helps account for tendencies in the placement of V, even when other constituents occupy the peripheries of the clause, as in (62).

- (62) quia otium . . . facultatem pristini
 because inactivity:NOM.SG faculty:ACC.SG former:GEN.SG
siccasset eloqui
 dry.up:PLPRF.SBJV.ACT.3SG eloquence:GEN.SG
 ‘because inactivity . . . had dried up [my] faculty of former eloquence’ (Ep. 1.1)

In this instance, because of the hyperbatic movement of the genitive *eloquii* to the final position of the clause, the absolute position of V must be reckoned medial. However, when considering the position of V relative to S and O, this same clause is designated SOV, revealing the underlying tendency towards a V-final order. Furthermore, to facilitate comparison with clauses lacking either S or O, this clause is also recorded as both SV and OV (cf. Croft 2003, 69–70).

As in previous chapters, the raw data and some details of its textual sources are treated first, and the statistical analysis is taken up in a subsequent section.

C.1. Verbs in Corpus 1

A summary of the data on the absolute position of V in Corpus 1, Jerome's original writings, is presented in Table 4.2.⁴⁹

Table 4.2 *Verbs in Corpus 1 (original writings)*⁵⁰

	Main Clauses			Subordinate Clauses		
	V-initial	V-medial	V-final	V-initial	V-medial	V-final
	(9,1,1,6)	(25,3,2,7)	(56,1,12,3)	(2,0,1,3)	(8,5,4,6)	(17,5,9,9)
	17	37	72	6	23	40
%	13.49	29.37	57.14	8.70	33.33	57.97

As previously stated, all three positions are found in St. Jerome's original Latin. Yet it must also be observed that a clear majority of verbs (57.14% in main clauses and 57.97% in subordinate clauses)⁵¹ appear in final position, according to the generally recognized tendency of Latin, as discussed above (§ A.1).

⁴⁹ In order to maintain the greatest level of precision in analysis and presentation, the data from subordinate clauses have been kept separate from those of main clauses. According to Adams (1976, 93n61): "It is worthwhile to distinguish main clauses from subordinate clauses. In Latin of all periods, including that of very late antiquity, final position of the verb was appreciably more common in subordinate than in main clauses." See also Linde (1923, 154) and Walker (1918, 653). In subsequent tables, the data for nominal and pronominal S and O are likewise reported separately.

⁵⁰ The parenthetical numbers in this and subsequent tables represent the tallies for the individual texts constituting the corpus in question. For **Corpus 1** they are (in order): Ep. 1, Prol. Hom., HQG, and In Es. For **Corpus 2** there is only the one Homily by Origen. For **Corpus 3** they are: 1 Sam, Esth, and Jdt.

⁵¹ The fact that Jerome's percentages of V-final are nearly identical between main and subordinate clauses may be due to the high frequency of final position in main clauses for this corpus. For figures more in keeping with Adams's observation that V-final is more common in subordinate clauses (see n. 49 above), see Table 4.7 for Corpus 2 below.

When the verbs of this corpus appear in initial position, there is often a clear reason for their placement. For example, in his first epistle, St. Jerome employs chiasmus (LHS 696), as in (63), no fewer than five times – accounting for nearly half the instances of initial V in the epistle and more than a fifth of those in the whole of Corpus 1.

- (63) laetatur percussa, carnifex
 rejoice:PRS.DPNT.3SG beat:PRF.PASS.PTCP.NOM.SG executioner:NOM.SG
 pallet
 grow.pale:PRS.ACT.3SG
 ‘the beaten [woman] rejoices, the executioner grows pale’ (Ep. 1.8.1)

Here, the V-initial word order of the first clause, while dynamically reporting this dramatic scene – a pragmatic choice⁵² – also sets up for the stylistic embellishment of the chiasmic VS–SV ordering of the two clauses. The order of the prior clause, therefore, must be seen in relation to that of the latter.

Other pragmatic and/or prosodic factors also result in initial V.

- (64) veniet dies, quae . . .
 come:FUT.ACT.3SG day:NOM.SG which:NOM.SG
 ‘there will come a day which . . .’ (Ep. 1.6.1)

In (64), the fact that *veniet* is presentative and the fact that the subject *dies* is associated with the weight of a relative clause are both likely factors in the V-initial word order.⁵³

⁵² See Panhuis (2006, § 395).

⁵³ For V-initial word order with presentatives, see Devine and Stephens (2006, 150–51). For the postponement of heavy constituents, see Croft (2003, 70–71).

Medial verbs in this corpus – as in Latin more generally (Devine and Stephens 2006, § 1.7) – are characterized, not by the placement of V, but by the position of other constituents after V (Bauer 1995, 102), as may be seen in (65–66).⁵⁴

- (65) subito feminae **palpitat** pectus
 suddenly woman:GEN.SG palpitate:PRS.ACT.3SG breast:NOM.SG
 ‘suddenly the woman’s breast palpitates’ (Ep. 1.12.2)
- (66) ut omne genus **transferam** dictionis
 that:CONJ every:ACC.SG genre:ACC.SG translate:PRS.SBJV.ACT.1SG oratory:GEN.SG
 ‘that I translate every genre of [his] oratory’ (Prol. Hom. 20)

The placement in (65) of *pectus* after the verb *palpitat* and separated from its genitive *feminae*, and the similar postverbal placement of the genitive *dictionis* in (66), are both clear instances of emphasis on the constituents separated in hyperbaton, and not on the verb. And while the explanation for the location of other postverbal constituents is often less obvious, as in (67),⁵⁵ the situation remains the same – “the verb in medial position was never motivated by the emphasis of the verb proper” (Bauer 1995, 93).⁵⁶

- (67) cum quosdam versus Homeri **transtulisset**
 when some:ACC.PL verse:ACC.PL Homer:GEN.SG translate:PLPRF.SBJV.ACT.3SG
 ad verbum
 to/for word:ACC.SG
 ‘when he had translated some verses of Homer [word] for word’ (HQQ 1.8)

⁵⁴ Example (65) was first presented as (5) above.

⁵⁵ See Devine and Stephens (2006, § 1.7 “Postverbal Constituents”) for an in-depth discussion and analysis of the matter.

⁵⁶ Cf. Panhuis (1982, 144–46). Marouzeau goes so far as to describe the variance between final and medial V as showing a “liberté d’indifférence” (2:82).

The data for the position of V relative to nominal S and O are summarized in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 *Constituent order in Corpus 1 (original writings): Nominal S and O*

Main Clauses						
	VSO	VOS	SVO	SOV	OSV	OVS
	0	0	(1,0,0,3) 4	(9,0,2,0) 11	(4,0,1,0) 5	0
%	0.00	0.00	20.00	55.00	25.00	0.00

Subordinate Clauses						
	VSO	VOS	SVO	SOV	OSV	OVS
	0	0	(2,1,0,1) 4	(3,1,1,0) 5	(2,1,0,1) 4	0
%	0.00	0.00	30.77	38.46	30.77	0.00

Unsurprisingly, the majority of clauses with nominal S and O appear in the traditional SOV order, and V-final clauses (SOV and OSV) make up 80% of main and 69.23% of subordinate clauses. Moreover, it should be observed that neither in main clauses nor in subordinate clauses are there any instances of V-initial word orders (VSO or VOS).

Clauses where S or O is pronominal were significantly fewer in number, but a similar distribution of word orders generally confirms the tendencies observed for clauses with nominal constituents, as may be seen in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4 *Constituent order in Corpus 1 (original writings): Pronominal S or O*

Main Clauses						
	VSO	VOS	SVO	SOV	OSV	OVS
	0	(0,0,1,0) 1	0	(3,0,0,0) 3	0	0
%	0.00	25.00	0.00	75.00	0.00	0.00

Subordinate Clauses						
	VSO	VOS	SVO	SOV	OSV	OVS
	0	0	(0,0,1,0) 1	(1,1,0,0) 2	(2,0,0,0) 2	0
%	0.00	0.00	20.00	40.00	40.00	0.00

Once again, a clear majority of main clauses are SOV, while among subordinate clauses the SOV order is matched in frequency by OSV. In both sets V-final orders predominate. The order VSO is again completely lacking in the data; however, there is a single instance of VOS in a main clause (68).

- (68) Urguebat enim eum Luscius Lanuinus . . .
 press:IPF.ACT.3SG for:CONJ he:ACC.SG Luscius:NOM.SG Lanuinus:NOM.SG
 ‘For Luscius Lanu[v]inus was pressing him . . .’ (HQQ 1.5)

In (68), the initial V is likely due to this clause giving background information to the preceding clause (Devine and Stephens 2006, 161), as is shown by the explanatory conjunction *enim* ‘for’ and the anaphoric pronominal O *eum* ‘him’ (referring to the playwright Terence, who was named in the preceding clause). Furthermore, since the immediately following coordinate clause is V-final, this sentence adheres to the pattern of “conjoined structures” (Devine and Stephens 2006, 163), where a V-initial clause is joined to a V-final – meaning that the VOS order of this clause can be seen in relation to the OV order of the subsequent clause, as was noted with the chiasmus in (63) above.⁵⁷

Since the number of clauses that present both S and O is relatively small, a greater portion of the corpus can be analyzed by splitting the classification of word orders into binary pairs VS/SV and VO/OV (Croft 2003, 69–70). One side effect of this alternative classification is the focus it brings to the fact that Latin is an SV language – a point which, though latent, is sometimes lost sight of in debates on whether the basic word

⁵⁷ Devine and Stephens (2006, 164) would distinguish this word-order pattern from chiasmus based on its “informational structure.” Nonetheless, the syntactic results are very similar.

order of Latin is SOV or SVO, but which is abundantly clear from the data on V and S in this corpus, as seen in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5 *Binary constituent order in Corpus 1 (original writings): V and S*

	Main Clauses				Subordinate Clauses			
	VS		SV		VS		SV	
Nom. S	(12,0,1,1)	14	(40,0,5,5)	50	(2,0,1,0)	3	(12,3,5,7)	27
%	21.88		78.13		10.00		90.00	
Pron. S		0	(5,1,3,0)	9		0	(1,2,1,0)	4
%	0.00		100.00		0.00		100.00	

The overwhelming majority of clauses in St. Jerome's original writings favor the order SV; and for pronominal S, this order is without exception in the texts examined. These findings are relevant both as a confirmation of Jerome's native Latinity, and as a point of reference for the contrasting findings in Corpus 3 (see below).

The data for the ordering of V and O (Table 4.6), though not quite as extreme as for V and S, show a clear majority of clauses preferring the order OV.

Table 4.6 *Binary constituent order in Corpus 1 (original writings): V and O*

	Main Clauses				Subordinate Clauses			
	VO		OV		VO		OV	
Nom. O	(9,1,0,6)	16	(23,1,8,2)	34	(4,2,3,2)	11	(10,6,4,5)	25
%	32.00		68.00		30.56		69.44	
Pron. O	(0,0,1,0)	1	(2,1,0,1)	4	(0,0,0,1)	1	(3,0,0,3)	6
%	20.00		80.00		14.29		85.71	

The only instance of pronominal O appearing in the order VO in a main clause is in the V-initial clause discussed above in (68). Of course, when V is in absolute first position,

there is no possibility that O could be anywhere else than afterwards. Thus, the position of the verb in that clause is of greater significance than that of its object.

Among the subordinate clauses of this corpus, there was also one instance of the order VO where O is pronominal:⁵⁸

- (69) Quoniam non receperunt **eum** quem signavit
 Because not accept:PRF.ACT.3PL he:ACC.SG who:ACC.SG seal:PRF.ACT.3SG
 Pater, « qui . . . »⁵⁹ Qui . . . qui . . . »
 father:NOM.SG who:NOM.SG who:NOM.SG who:NOM.SG
 ‘Because they have not accepted him whom the Father sealed, « who . . .
 Who . . . who . . . »’ (In Es 43, quoting Rev 3:7)

Here (69) the pronominal O *eum* ‘him’ stands as the antecedent of a sequence of four relative clauses,⁶⁰ the last three of which are quoted from Revelation 3:7. Since the pronoun’s semantic content is entirely dependent on those relative clauses, it is not surprising to find it immediately affixed to the first of them. It is equally unsurprising to find that the heaviness of the larger constituent comprising *eum* and its string of relative clauses induces it to appear postverbally.⁶¹

⁵⁸ This sentence is the answer to a (rhetorical) question; as such, the main clause to which this subordinate clause would be attached is elided due to its being expressed in the question itself.

⁵⁹ This first *qui* and its clause are also part of the quotation from Rev 3:7, though it is not marked as such (i.e., italicized) in Adriaen’s text (CCSL 73).

⁶⁰ For this common use of the pronoun *is*, see Gildersleeve § 308. Cf. Marouzeau’s “terme d’appel” (1:149).

⁶¹ See Croft (2003, 70–71), as referenced above.

C.2. Verbs in Corpus 2

The data for the absolute position of V in Corpus 2, including both St. Jerome's translation and Origen's original Greek, are summarized in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7 *Verbs in Corpus 2 (non-scriptural translation)*

	Main Clauses			Subordinate Clauses		
	V-initial	V-medial	V-final	V-initial	V-medial	V-final
Latin	33	45	25	18	18	28
%	32.04	43.69	24.27	28.13	28.13	43.75
Greek	29	46	16	25	28	20
%	31.87	50.55	17.58	34.25	38.36	27.40
Lt = Gr	16	24	7	10	9	7

The Latin preference for final V observed in Corpus 1 is largely maintained among the subordinate clauses of this corpus (43.75% being V-final, compared to 57.97% in Corpus 1), contrary to the tendency found in the Greek source text (where only 27.40% of subordinate clauses are V-final, and the largest portion are V-medial). At the same time, there is a marked increase of initial V for both subordinate clauses (28.13% compared to 8.70% in Corpus 1) and main clauses (32.04% compared to 13.49%).

Among main clauses in the Latin, there is also a definite shift in favor of medial V (43.69% being in this order, compared to just 29.37% in Corpus 1). Since a roughly similar distribution of verb positions is found among main clauses in the Greek, it would seem at first glance that the Latin shift is due to a close adherence to the word order of the source text. Mindful of how misleading a simple comparison of these raw counts for each language can be, however, we must turn to the last row in Table 4.7 ("Lt = Gr," counting the number of times the Latin word order actually corresponds to that of the

Greek), which reveals that only about half of the Greek verbs in main clauses (and about a third of those in subordinate clauses) are directly mimicked in Jerome's Latin, with regard to their placement, as in (70) where both clauses are V-medial (as well as SVO).

- (70) (a) ἀλλ' αὐτῆ ἡ χεὶρ τοῦ κυρίου
 but very:NOM.SG the:NOM.SG hand:NOM.SG the:GEN.SG lord:GEN.SG
 ἤψατο αὐτοῦ⁶²
 touch:AOR.MID.3SG he:GEN.SG
 'but the very hand of the Lord touched him' (Hom. 1.14.14)
- (b) sed ipsa manus Domini tetigit eum
 but very:NOM.SG hand:NOM.SG Lord:GEN.SG touch:PRF.ACT.3SG he:ACC.SG
 'but the very hand of the Lord touched him' (Hom. 1.14, 271 A)

Moreover, while these direct imitations also account for approximately half of the Latin's V-initial and V-medial clauses (both main and subordinate), they constitute less than a third of the instances of final V in Latin (28% of V-final main clauses and 25% of V-final subordinate clauses). Looked at from the other direction, this means that the vast majority of Jerome's V-final clauses (72% of V-final main clauses and 75% of V-final subordinate clauses) are in fact independent of the source text and show the influence of his native word order over that of the Greek. This high degree of independence among V-final clauses in Corpus 2 is similar to that already seen in Corpus 2 with genitives (Ch. II, § E.3) and demonstratives (Ch. III, § C.2).

⁶² Items accepted in the role of O were allowed to be in cases other than the accusative, as here with the genitive αὐτοῦ, provided that they were clearly the equivalent of a direct object. In this instance, compare the accusative *eum* in the Latin translation.

Turning from the absolute position of V in its clause to the position of V relative to S and O, we first consider the data for nominal S and O as summarized in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8 *Constituent order in Corpus 2 (non-scriptural translation): Nominal S and O*

Main Clauses						
	VSO	VOS	SVO	SOV	OSV	OVS
Latin	3	1	8	1	0	1
%	21.43	7.14	57.14	7.14	0.00	7.14
Greek	1	1	10	0	0	4
%	6.25	6.25	62.50	0.00	0.00	25.00
Lt = Gr	1	0	5	0	0	1
Subordinate Clauses						
	VSO	VOS	SVO	SOV	OSV	OVS
Latin	1	1	4	0	0	1
%	14.29	14.29	57.14	0.00	0.00	14.29
Greek	1	0	4	0	0	1
%	16.67	0.00	66.67	0.00	0.00	16.67
Lt = Gr	1	0	2	0	0	1

Whereas Jerome's original Latin in Corpus 1 showed a clear preference for SOV in main clauses (55% being in that order, more than twice the frequency of the next most common order) and a much narrower preference among subordinate clauses (38.46%, which was less than eight percentage points over the other orders found), his translation of Origen's Greek in Corpus 2 exhibits a dramatic realignment in favor of SVO in both main and subordinate clauses. And while just half of the instances of SVO in subordinate clauses are directly imitative of the Greek, 62.5% of those in main clauses are, indicating a somewhat higher degree of dependence on his source text when nominal S and O are both present (as compared to the findings on the absolute position of V presented in

Table 4.7 above, where the highest degree of dependence was 55.56% for V-initial subordinate clauses).

The number of clauses with all three constituents, but where S or O is pronominal, is once again relatively small; nonetheless, for the sake of completeness, the data are presented in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9 *Constituent order in Corpus 2 (non-scriptural translation): Pronominal S or O*

Main Clauses						
	VSO	VOS	SVO	SOV	OSV	OVS
Latin	0	0	4	2	0	1
%	0.00	0.00	57.14	28.57	0.00	14.29
Greek	0	0	5	0	1	1
%	0.00	0.00	71.43	0.00	14.29	14.29
Lt = Gr	0	0	3	0	0	0
Subordinate Clauses						
	VSO	VOS	SVO	SOV	OSV	OVS
Latin	0	0	0	0	1	1
%	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	50.00	50.00
Greek	1	0	0	0	0	3
%	25.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	75.00
Lt = Gr	0	0	0	0	0	1

The counts for main clauses confirm the predominance of SVO in both the Latin and the Greek (a significant shift in the Latin from the 75% SOV of Corpus 1). The data for subordinate clauses, however, are so few (with only two Latin clauses and four Greek clauses), and so skewed (the Latin providing no examples of SVO or SOV, but one example each of OSV and OVS), as to be practically meaningless.

As before, the binary pairing of constituents, VS/SV and VO/OV, allows for a

greater coverage of the examined clauses. Therefore, the data for V and S in Corpus 2 are presented in Table 4.10.⁶³

Table 4.10 *Binary constituent order in Corpus 2 (non-scriptural translation): V and S*

	Nominal S			
	Main Clauses		Subordinate Clauses	
	VS	SV	VS	SV
Latin	17	21	6	17
%	44.74	55.26	26.09	73.91
Greek	17	22	12	17
%	43.59	56.41	41.38	58.62
Lt = Gr	6	12	4	3
	Pronominal S			
	Main Clauses		Subordinate Clauses	
	VS	SV	VS	SV
Latin	0	13	1	1
%	0.00	100.00	50.00	50.00
Greek	2	7	3	2
%	22.22	77.78	60.00	40.00
Lt = Gr	0	8	0	0

Here we see a general shift towards a higher frequency of the order VS than was found in Corpus 1. The most extreme change appears among main clauses with nominal S, where

⁶³ Since the data for “Lt = Gr” are counted according to the Latin, it should be noted that some disparities between the Latin and the Greek can occur. Here, for example, among main clauses in the order SV, of the 12 instances where S is nominal, one is a Latin noun (technically the substantive use of an adjective) for a Greek pronoun; and of the 8 instances where S is pronominal, one is a Latin pronoun and relative clause for a Greek noun (the substantive use of a participle), and another involves a significant rewriting of the clause, such that a Greek pronominal object becomes a Latin pronominal subject (of a passive verb), displacing in the process the Greek’s nominal subject. Nonetheless, because such changes from noun to pronoun and vice versa do not alter the relative order of S and V in these instances, they were counted as equivalent. This is why there are 8 instances of “Lt = Gr” with pronominal S in the order SV when there are only 7 instances of that order with a pronoun in the Greek itself.

just 21.88% were VS among Jerome's original Latin writings, but 44.74% of those in his translation from the Greek exhibit this order.⁶⁴ Nonetheless, in all but the under-represented category of subordinate clauses with pronominal S (which has a single example of each order), the order SV retains the majority it held in Corpus 1. At the same time, there is again a high degree of independence in the Latin. For example, among main clauses with nominal S, 64.71% of the Latin instances of VS are independent of the Greek source text. Among subordinate clauses with nominal S, Jerome's preferred use of SV is not only still predominant (73.91% being in this order), but it is also independent of the Greek in 82.35% of its occurrences. This high degree of independence from the Greek is once again similar to that seen in previous chapters.

It should also be noted that there is an area of resistance in the Latin to the general increase in the frequency of the order VS in this corpus. For whatever reason, in main clauses where S is pronominal, the shift towards VS observed elsewhere has had no effect; rather all 13 instances in the Latin appear in the order SV, the same absolute preference for this word order that was found with pronominal S in Corpus 1.

Interestingly, the one instance in this corpus of the order VS for pronominal S in a Latin subordinate clause appears in the first clause of a compound subordinate clause which has been arranged by Jerome, contrary to the Greek (which is in the order V–VS), in a chiasmic pattern VS–SV:⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Although there is a greater percentage shift among subordinate clauses with pronominal S, the fact that this was effected by the appearance of a single instance in the order VS against a single instance of the order SV renders the percentage change less easy to evaluate.

⁶⁵ See the discussions on chiasmus and “conjoined structures” (Devine and Stephens 2006, 163) above (§ C.1).

- (71) (a) Ἐὰν ἐκριζοθῆ μὲν, μὴ ἀπόληται δὲ
 if uproot:AOR.SBJV.PASS.3SG TOP not perish:AOR.SBJV.MID.3SG and:TOP
 τὸ ἐκριζωθέν
 the:NOM.SG.N uproot:AOR.PASS.PTCP.NOM.SG.N
 ‘If it is uprooted, and the uprooted [thing] does not perish’ (Hom. 1.15.8)
- (b) Si **eradicatur** **aliquid**, et eradicatio
 if uproot:PRS.PASS.3SG something:NOM.SG and uprooting:NOM.SG
 ipsa non dispergitur
 itself:NOM.SG not scatter:PRS.PASS.3SG
 ‘If something is uprooted, and the uprooting itself is not scattered’
 (Hom. 1.15, 274 A)

Not only has Jerome introduced in (71) the pronominal S *aliquid* ‘something’, which has no direct source in the Greek, but he has also reordered the second clause of this compound subordinate clause from V-initial and VS in the Greek to V-final and SV in the Latin. It seems, in fact, that the primary justification for this instance of VS with a pronominal S is the chiasmic mirroring of clauses. For in the very similar clause in (72), where however there is no second clause with which to achieve the chiasmus, Jerome instead renders V and its pronominal S (the only other instance of pronominal S in a Latin subordinate clause in Table 4.10) in the order SV, at the same time making the clause V-final.

- (72) (a) ἔὰν δὲ διώκεται ποτέ τις διὰ
 if but persecute:PRS.PASS.SUBJ.3SG ever someone:NOM.SG because.of
 δικαιοσύνην
 justice:ACC.SG
 ‘but if ever someone be persecuted because of justice’ (Hom. 1.13.34)
- (b) Si quando autem propter iustitiam **aliquis**
 if ever but because.of justice:ACC.SG someone:NOM.SG
exagitur
 persecute:PRS.PASS.3SG
 ‘But if ever someone is persecuted because of justice’ (Hom. 1.13 270 D)

From these observations, it can be deduced that the order VS with a pronominal S is not only rare in St. Jerome's Latin, but even seems to be avoided by him, while nominal S has a greater freedom of movement in its clause.

A more pronounced departure from the word order of Corpus 1 is found in the data for V and O in Corpus 2, as seen in Table 4.11.⁶⁶

Table 4.11 *Binary constituent order in Corpus 2 (non-scriptural translation): V and O*

	Nominal O			
	Main Clauses		Subordinate Clauses	
	VO	OV	VO	OV
Latin	33	12	13	8
%	73.33	26.67	61.90	38.10
Greek	26	10	15	6
%	72.22	27.78	71.43	28.57
Lt = Gr	16	3	9	4
	Pronominal O			
	Main Clauses		Subordinate Clauses	
	VO	OV	VO	OV
Latin	7	6	3	4
%	53.85	46.15	42.86	57.14
Greek	6	6	3	5
%	50.00	50.00	37.50	62.50
Lt = Gr	5	3	3	1

Although his original Latin writings favored the order OV in both main and subordinate

⁶⁶ As was the case in Table 4.10 (see n. 63 above), the data for "Lt = Gr" in Table 4.11 include certain disparities between the Latin and the Greek. Among main clauses in the order VO, of the 16 instances where O is nominal, one is a Latin noun for a Greek pronoun; and of the 5 instances where O is pronominal, two are Latin pronouns for Greek nouns, and one is a Latin pronoun and relative clause for a Greek substantive participle. Among subordinate clauses in the order VO, of the 3 instances where O is pronominal, one is a Latin pronoun and relative clause for a Greek substantive participle.

clauses and regardless of whether O was nominal or pronominal, Jerome's translation from the Greek in Corpus 2 shows a preference for VO in every circumstance except subordinate clauses where O is pronominal – and even there, the 4 to 3 favoring of OV in the Latin of Corpus 2 is a much closer margin than the 6 to 1 ratio found in Corpus 1. It is noteworthy, then, that all three Latin instances of pronominal O in a subordinate clause being in the order VO are directly based on the word order of the Greek. Overall, in fact, there is moderate (48.48%) to high (100%) dependency of the Latin on the source text for instances of the order VO, while there is only moderate (50%) to low (25%) dependency for instances of Jerome's natively preferred order OV. In other words, despite losing the overall predominance they held in Corpus 1, instances of OV continue to show a strong degree of independence.

Specific examples of the independence exerted by Jerome in his translation from the Greek serve to illustrate the numerical data of the foregoing tables. In the first place, there are several instances where Jerome reorders the constituents of a clause to favor the placement of V in final position,⁶⁷ as in (73), and/or to change a VS order to SV, (74).⁶⁸

- (73) (a) ἐὰν μὴ **προσέχη** τῇ ἀναγνώσει
 if not pay.attention:PRS.SBJV.ACT.3SG the:DAT.SG reading:DAT.SG
 'if he does not pay attention to the reading' (Hom. 1.2.3)
- (b) si lectioni diligenter **intendat**
 if reading:DAT.SG diligently pay.attention:PRS.SBJV.ACT.3SG
 'if he diligently pays attention to the reading' (Hom. 1.2, 255 C)

⁶⁷ In addition to the following examples, see (72) above.

⁶⁸ Example (74) was first presented as part of example (71) above.

- (74) (a) Ἐὰν . . . μὴ **ἀπόληται** δὲ τὸ
 if not perish:AOR.SBJV.MID.3SG and:TOP the:NOM.SG.N
ἐκριζωθέν
 uproot:AOR.PASS.PTCP.NOM.SG.N
 ‘If . . . (and) the uprooted [thing] does not perish’ (Hom. 1.15.8)
- (b) Si . . . et **eradicatio ipsa non dispergitur**
 if and uprooting:NOM.SG itself:NOM.SG not scatter:PRS.PASS.3SG
 ‘If . . . (and) the uprooting itself is not scattered’ (Hom. 1.15, 274 A)

There are also instances where Jerome clearly seems to be avoiding the placement of V in initial position:

- (75) (a) ὅτι **προτρέπει** κατὰ φιλανθρωπίαν ἑαυτοῦ
 that:CONJ urge:PRS.ACT.3SG according.to benevolence:ACC.SG himself:GEN.SG
ὁ θεός . . .
 the:NOM.SG God:NOM.SG
 ‘that, according to his benevolence, (the) God urges . . .’ (Hom. 1.3.20)
- (b) quia iuxta suam clementiam **exhortatur**
 that:CONJ according.to his:ACC.SG clemency:ACC.SG exhort:PRS.DPNT.3SG
Deus
 God:NOM.SG
 ‘that, according to his clemency, God exhorts . . .’ (Hom. 1.3, 258 B)
- (76) (a) Ἐδίδαξεν ὁ **σωτήρ** λέγων . . .
 teach:AOR.ACT.3SG the:NOM.SG savior:NOM.SG say:PRS.ACT.PTCP.NOM.SG
 ‘The Savior taught, saying . . .’ (Hom. 1.14.37)
- (b) **Salvator** in Evangelio **ostendit,** dicens . . .
 savior:NOM.SG in Gospel:ABL.SG show:PRF.ACT.3SG say:PRS.ACT.PTCP.NOM.SG
 ‘The Savior showed in the Gospel, saying . . .’ (Hom. 1.14, 271 C)

In (75) the avoidance of initial V means simply moving the prepositional phrase to first position (after the conjunction), but leaving intact the VS order of the clause. However, in (76) the reordering includes fronting S to create the order SV.

On the other hand, there are also some instances where the Greek clause has a final V but Jerome surprisingly reorders the constituents, such that V does not remain in final position in his Latin translation.

- (77) (a) οὐπω διάλεκτον ἀνθρωπίνην ἀνείληφα
 not.yet speech:ACC.SG human:ACC.SG take.up:PRF.ACT.1SG
 ‘I have not yet taken up human speech’ (Hom. 1.8.53)
- (b) necdum **assumpsi** humanam fragilitatem
 not.yet take.up:PRF.ACT.1SG human:ACC.SG frailty:ACC.SG
 ‘I have not yet taken up human frailty’ (Hom. 1.8, 266 B)
- (78) (a) ἀλλὰ τὸ πλασσόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ χοῦ
 but the:NOM.SG form:PRS.PASS.PTCP.NOM.SG from the:GEN.SG soil:GEN.SG
 τῆς γῆς τοῦτο ἐν κοιλίᾳ **κτίζεται**.
 the:GEN.SG earth:GEN.SG this:NOM.SG in womb:DAT.SG create:PRS.PASS.3SG
 ‘but the [thing] formed from the soil of the earth, this is created in a womb.’
 (Hom. 1.10.16)
- (b) sed quod creatur de terrae pulvere,
 but what:NOM.SG create:PRS.PASS.3SG from earth:GEN.SG dust:ABL.SG
 hoc **plasmatur** in utero.
 this:NOM.SG form:PRS.PASS.3SG in womb:ABL.SG
 ‘but what is created from the earth’s dust, this is formed in a womb.’
 (Hom. 1.10, 267 A)

Nonetheless, whether reordering OV to VO (77) or merely postposing a prepositional phrase (78), it should be noted that the Latin of these instances does not venture outside of the range of style and syntax regularly found in St. Jerome’s original writings.

Finally, there are some instances where the Latin is less of a translation and more of a rewriting of the Greek source material. Such occasions demonstrate the utmost of independence on the part of the translator.

- (79) (a) ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ θεοῦ
 but the:NOM.SG mercy:NOM.SG the:GEN.SG God:GEN.SG
 ἐπισταθήσεται ὑμῖν
 set.upon:FUT.PASS.3SG you:DAT.PL
 ‘but the mercy of (the) God will be set upon you’ (Hom. 1.3.17)
- (b) et parcam vobis
 and spare:FUT.ACT.1SG you:DAT.PL
 ‘and I shall spare you’ (Hom. 1.3, 258 B)

While Origen had paraphrased the message of the prophet (79a), Jerome has rewritten the scene, with a somewhat different paraphrase coming directly from the mouth of God himself (79b). In the process, though maintaining the ordering of the verb relative to the dative, he has deleted the subject of the source text, given an active verb in place of a passive, and made the dative serve as O.⁶⁹ Thus, grammatically speaking, the Latin rendering could not be further from the Greek.

C.3. Verbs in Corpus 3

A summary of the data on the absolute position of V in Corpus 3, which comprises the excerpts of St. Jerome’s translations of First Samuel, Esther, and Judith, as well as the Hebrew for the excerpts of First Samuel and Esther, is presented in Table 4.12.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ In terms of the data counted for the present investigation, the Greek of this clause is recorded as SV (the dative object not counting as O, since ἐπισταθήσεται is passive), and the Latin as VO (since the only object of the active verb *parcam* is regularly in the dative case).

⁷⁰ For the sake of comparison, the data from subordinate clauses have again been kept separate from those of main clauses. Waltke and O’Connor note, however, that “unlike many languages, Hebrew does not use a different word order for main and subordinate clauses; the general preference for verb–subject–object obtains in both groups, with many exceptions” (IBHS § 38.1g, n. 13).

Table 4.12 *Verbs in Corpus 3 (OT translations)*⁷¹

	Main Clauses			Subordinate Clauses		
	V-initial	V-medial	V-final	V-initial	V-medial	V-final
Latin	(79,26,45) 150	(30,19,29) 78	(17,8,13) 38	(38,16,22) 76	(13,12,11) 36	(4,11,7) 22
%	56.39	29.32	14.29	56.72	26.87	16.42
Hebrew	(83,46) 129	(29,17) 46	(16,3) 19	(18,4) 22	(6,3) 9	(1,0) 1
%	66.49	23.71	9.79	68.75	28.13	3.13
Lt = Heb	(65,16, n/a) 81	(17,10, n/a) 27	(10,0, n/a) 10	(12,1, n/a) 13	(6,1, n/a) 7	(1,0, n/a) 1

While all three positions are found in main and subordinate clauses in both the Latin and the Hebrew, the majority of clauses in both languages are V-initial. This is, of course, a clear shift in the Latin from the distribution found in St. Jerome's original writings. For instance, among main clauses, though the percentages of V-medial clauses are nearly identical (29.32% in Corpus 3 compared to 29.37% in Corpus 1), those for V-initial and V-final clauses have very nearly switched places (56.39% and 14.29% respectively for Corpus 3 as compared to 13.49% and 57.14% for Corpus 1). And a similar reversal has occurred in subordinate clauses.

This peculiar distribution of word orders in the Latin is remarkably close to that of the Hebrew; nonetheless, there are several places in Table 4.12 where the actual number of instances of a given order differs considerably from one language to the other. Often this discrepancy is due to differences of grammar between the languages, which result in the parallel clause of one of the languages being excluded from the data according to the

⁷¹ The parenthetical numbers in this and subsequent tables represent the tallies for the individual texts constituting Corpus 3, namely: 1 Sam, Esth, and Jdt for the Latin; and 1 Sam and Esth for the Hebrew (cf. n. 50 above).

limits set forth above (§ B). For example, the Hebrew infinitive in (80a) was excluded for not being a finite verb, while the Latin rendering (80b), a purpose clause with a finite verb in the subjunctive, was counted as a V-initial subordinate clause. In (81), a very similar problem obtains for the Hebrew participle used as the predicate of a verbless clause (IBHS § 37.6), as contrasted again with a finite verb in the Latin.⁷² Yet, in both instances, the placement of the verb(al) is identical between the languages.

- (80) (a) **lō=habî** 'et-waštî hammalkâ . . .
to=come:CAUS.ACT.INF OBJ-Vashti the:queen:ABS.SG
'to bring Vashti the queen . . . ' (Esth 1:11)
- (b) ut **introducerent** reginam Vasthi . . .
that:CONJ bring.in:IPF.SBJV.ACT.3PL queen:ACC.SG Vashti[ACC.SG]
'that they might bring (in) queen Vashti . . . ' (Esth 1:11)
- (81) (a) hinnēh yāmîm **bā'im** . . .
behold:PTCL day:ABS.PL come:PTCP.ABS.PL
'Behold, days [are] coming . . . ' (1 Sam 2:31)
- (b) ecce dies **veniunt**
behold:PTCL day:NOM.PL come:PRS.ACT.3PL
'Behold, days are coming . . . ' (1 Sam 2:31)

It is not always the Hebrew clause that has been excluded, however. An equally problematic grammatical disparity is regularly observed when the Latin verb conjugation requires the use of auxiliary *sum* 'be' – a common feature of many passive verbs. Since in every instance these periphrastic Latin verbs and their clauses were excluded from the data counts,⁷³ there are a number of occasions, as in examples (82) and (83), where the

⁷² Cf. example (29) above.

⁷³ See § B.2 above for the rationale behind excluding such forms.

Hebrew finite verb has been counted, but the Latin rendering has not.

- (82) (a) **rāmâ** qarn=î . . .
 be.exalted:SFX.3SG horn:CSTR.SG=POSS.1SG
 ‘my horn is exalted . . .’ (1 Sam 2:1)
- (b) **exaltatum** **est** cornu meum . . .
 exalt:PRF.PASS.PTCP.NOM.SG be:PRS.3SG horn:NOM.SG my:NOM.SG
 ‘my horn is exalted . . .’ (1 Sam 2:1)
- (83) (a) **wayyiqqār’û** sōpārê hammelek . . .
 and:call:WPFX.PASS.3PL scribe:CSTR.PL the:king:ABS.SG
 ‘And the king’s scribes were called . . .’ (Esth 3:12)
- (b) **vocati=que** **sunt** scribae regis . . .
 call:PRF.PASS.PTCP.NOM.PL=and be:PRS.3PL scribe:NOM.PL king:GEN.SG
 ‘And the king’s scribes were called . . .’ (Esth 3:12)

Once again, it is apparent that the placement of these verbs is exactly parallel from one language to the other, though the data in Table 4.12 do not reflect it.

Such disparities are behind the somewhat misleadingly low counts in the last row of Table 4.12 (Lt = Heb). For whenever a clause of the Hebrew was not counted, its Latin rendering was not recorded as equivalent, even when the word order was quite parallel, as in the examples above.⁷⁴ (Of course, when the Latin clause itself was not counted, it could hardly be marked as equivalent to anything.) And yet, despite this difficulty, there is one column which stands out for its high degree of equivalency. Among V-initial main clauses, the Latin word order is directly equivalent to that of the Hebrew in 77.14% of

⁷⁴ This is especially the case for Latin subordinate clauses, which are often used to render non-finite Hebrew constructions, as in the examples. Another issue which has slightly obscured the data on the equivalency of Latin subordinate clauses to their Hebrew source texts is the strict separation of main from subordinate clauses. In a handful of instances where St. Jerome has rendered a Hebrew main clause as a Latin subordinate clause, the identical (5 instances) or similar (3 instances) ordering of constituents has not been recorded in the tables due to this distinction.

instances (81 of 105 Latin clauses).⁷⁵ That is, the word order which is most foreign to Latin's native syntax (appearing in just 13.49% of the main clauses in Corpus 1), and which nonetheless is found in the majority of main clauses in this corpus (56.39%, or 58.66% excluding the data from Judith), is the one for which the data clearly demonstrate the Latin's high degree of dependency on the word order of the Hebrew.⁷⁶

Turning now from the absolute position of V in its clause, to the position of V relative to S and O, we consider the data for nominal S and O as found in Table 4.13.

Table 4.13 *Constituent order in Corpus 3 (OT translations): Nominal S and O*

Main Clauses							
	VSO	VOS	SVO	SOV	OSV	OVS	
Latin	(9,2,3) 14	(0,0,2) 2	(4,5,6) 15	(0,0,2) 2	0	(3,0,0) 3	
%	38.89	5.56	41.67	5.56	0.00	8.33	
Hebrew	(10,7) 17	0	(4,2) 6	0	0	(2,0) 2	
%	68.00	0.00	24.00	0.00	0.00	8.00	
Lt = Heb	(9,1, n/a) 10	0	(3,1, n/a) 4	0	0	(2,0, n/a) 2	
Subordinate Clauses							
	VSO	VOS	SVO	SOV	OSV	OVS	
Latin	(4,0,1) 5	(0,0,1) 1	(4,1,0) 5	0	0	0	
%	45.45	9.09	45.45	0.00	0.00	0.00	
Hebrew	(2,0) 2	0	(1,0) 1	0	0	(0,1) 1	
%	50.00	0.00	25.00	0.00	0.00	25.00	
Lt = Heb	(2,0, n/a) 2	0	(1,0, n/a) 1	0	0	0	

⁷⁵ The 45 Latin clauses from Judith are not included in the total here, since there is not a Hebrew source text to which they can be compared.

⁷⁶ The data of Table 4.12 also show that the word order with the highest degree of independence for each kind of clause is Jerome's native V-final order, with 60% independence among main clauses and 93.33% independence among subordinate clauses (not counting the data from Judith).

As in the previous table, the numbers here seem to be turned on their heads as compared to the data on St. Jerome's original Latin in Corpus 1. For instance, V-final clauses (SOV and OSV), which accounted for the great majority of clauses in Corpus 1 (80% of main clauses and 69.23% of subordinate clauses), are almost nonexistent in Corpus 3 – as was the case in Corpus 2.⁷⁷ As was also found in Corpus 2, there is a noticeable increase in the percentage of V-medial clauses, particularly SVO, which claims the largest share of Latin main clauses (41.67%) and ties with VSO for the top spot among Latin subordinate clauses (each taking 45.45% of the total). At the same time, V-initial clauses (VSO and VOS), which were in fact nonexistent for nominal S and O in Corpus 1, make up 44.45% of main clauses and 54.54% of subordinate clauses in the Latin of Corpus 3. Moreover, 90.91% of the Latin's VSO main clauses are equivalent to the Hebrew,⁷⁸ once again showing a high degree of dependency on the source text behind this rather atypical Latin word order.

⁷⁷ Note that the only two V-final clauses in Table 4.13, both SOV main clauses, are found in Judith, leaving such clauses entirely absent from the excerpts of First Samuel and Esther.

⁷⁸ The data from Judith are again excluded from this calculation, since there is no Hebrew source text to which they can be compared.

Clauses with all three constituents, but where S or O is pronominal, though still not plentiful, were not so few in number as in the previous corpora – at least as far as the Latin is concerned. In the Hebrew, finite clauses of this sort are few (main clauses) to nonexistent (subordinate clauses), as may be seen in Table 4.14.⁷⁹

Table 4.14 *Constituent order in Corpus 3 (OT translations): Pronominal S or O*

Main Clauses						
	VSO	VOS	SVO	SOV	OSV	OVS
Latin	0	(2,1,3) 6	(2,0,2) 4	(1,1,0) 2	(0,0,1) 1	(2,0,0) 2
%	0.00	40.00	26.67	13.33	6.67	13.33
Hebrew	0	(4,1) 5	(1,0) 1	0	0	0
%	0.00	83.33	16.67	0.00	0.00	0.00
Lt = Heb	0	(2,0, n/a) 2	(1,0, n/a) 1	0	0	0
Subordinate Clauses						
	VSO	VOS	SVO	SOV	OSV	OVS
Latin	0	(0,0,2) 2	(1,0,2) 3	(0,0,2) 2	(0,1,0) 1	0
%	0.00	25.00	37.50	25.00	12.50	0.00
Hebrew	0	0	0	0	0	0
%	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Lt = Heb	0	0	0	0	0	0

The fronting of V is again noticeable among main clauses (and to a lesser extent with subordinate clauses), the order VOS appearing in 40% of Latin main clauses – the largest single share – as compared to but one instance (though accounting for 25%) in Corpus 1 and none at all in Corpus 2. This figure, it might be noted, would be slightly higher, if it

⁷⁹ Note that 6 of the 8 Latin subordinate clauses in Table 4.14 come from the translation of Judith, which lacks a Hebrew source text.

As with the previous corpora, a binary pairing of constituents, VS/SV and VO/OV, allows for a greater coverage of the examined clauses. Therefore, the data for V and S in Corpus 3 are presented in Table 4.15.⁸¹

Table 4.15 *Binary constituent order in Corpus 3 (OT translations): V and S*

	Nominal S							
	Main Clauses				Subordinate Clauses			
	VS		SV		VS		SV	
Latin	(42,15,13)	70	(21,12,15)	48	(15,7,9)	31	(6,7,4)	17
%	59.32		40.68		64.58		35.42	
Hebrew	(45,28)	73	(17,9)	26	(10,6)	16	(1,0)	1
%	73.74		26.26		94.12		5.88	
Lt = Heb	(36,8, n/a)	44	(10,3, n/a)	13	(9,1, n/a)	10	(1,0, n/a)	1
	Pronominal S							
	Main Clauses				Subordinate Clauses			
	VS		SV		VS		SV	
Latin	(0,0,1)	1	(3,3,3)	9		0	(1,2,4)	7
%	10.00		90.00		0.00		100.00	
Hebrew		0	(1,0)	1		0		0
%	0.00		100.00		n/a		n/a	
Lt = Heb		0	(1,1, n/a)	2		0		0

Among clauses with nominal S, there is a great increase in the figures for the order VS over those in Corpus 1. Whereas Jerome's original Latin writings had just 21.88% of main clauses and 10% of subordinate clauses in this order, his translations in Corpus 3 show a clear majority of clauses, 59.32% of main clauses and 64.58% of subordinate

⁸¹ Since the data for "Lt = Heb" are counted according to the Latin, a disparity exists among main clauses in the order SV where S is pronominal. Two equivalencies are noted, while only one Hebrew clause is counted in that order. This is due to the substitution of a Latin pronoun for a Hebrew noun in Esth 2:4.

clauses, in the order VS.⁸² Moreover, 77.19% (44 of the 57 instances in First Samuel and Esther)⁸³ of Latin VS main clauses with nominal S are directly equivalent to the Hebrew, indicating a strong degree of dependence on the word order of their source text.⁸⁴

As in Corpus 2, clauses with pronominal S appear resistant to this shift in favor of the order VS. All of the Latin's subordinate clauses are SV, and 9 out of 10 main clauses are also in this order. The one instance of VS among St. Jerome's main clauses, though counted as having a pronominal S, actually has a compound subject comprising both a pronoun and a noun.

- (85) et humiliaverunt animas suas in ieiuniis
 and humble:PRF.ACT.3PL soul:ACC.PL their:ACC.PL in fasting:ABL.PL
ipsi et mulieres eorum
 he.(himself):NOM.PL and woman:NOM.PL he:GEN.PL
 'and they and their women humbled their souls in fastings' (Jdt 4:8)

Whether the presence of the noun *mulieres* 'women' is what led to his postposing of the pronominal S in this one instance cannot be determined with certainty, but the absence of any other example in this corpus of a pronominal S appearing in the order VS does raise the question. The fact that there is only this one instance also adds evidence to what was proposed in the discussion of Table 4.10: namely, that Latin pronominal S is more restricted in its placement than nominal S.

⁸² Note that the figures for VS in Corpus 2, though substantially higher than those of Corpus 1, did not constitute a majority of clauses (see Table 4.10 above).

⁸³ Again, the data from Judith are excluded, as there is no Hebrew to which they can be compared.

⁸⁴ Contrast this with 35.29% dependence (or 64.71% independence) for the comparable category in Corpus 2 (see Table 4.10 above).

The data for V and O in Corpus 3, presented in Table 4.16,⁸⁵ show considerable departures from the word order of St. Jerome's native style, much as in Corpus 2.⁸⁶

Table 4.16 *Binary constituent order in Corpus 3 (OT translations): V and O*

	Nominal O							
	Main Clauses				Subordinate Clauses			
	VO		OV		VO		OV	
Latin	(44,18,39)	101	(6,2,13)	21	(22,8,7)	37	(2,3,5)	10
%	82.79		17.21		78.72		21.28	
Hebrew	(40,22)	62	(6,2)	8	(8,1)	9	(1,1)	2
%	88.57		11.43		81.82		18.18	
Lt = Heb	(34,8, n/a)	42	(4,1, n/a)	5	(7,0, n/a)	7	(1,1, n/a)	2
	Pronominal O							
	Main Clauses				Subordinate Clauses			
	VO		OV		VO		OV	
Latin	(12,4,4)	20	(4,2,0)	6	(8,1,9)	18	(0,3,2)	5
%	76.92		23.08		78.26		21.74	
Hebrew	(11,6)	17		0	(7,0)	7		0
%	100.00		0.00		100.00		0.00	
Lt = Heb	(8,3, n/a)	11		0	(5,0, n/a)	5		0

Here, however, the shift in the distribution of word orders in the Latin is even more extreme. For example, subordinate clauses with pronominal O are now overwhelmingly in the order VO (78.26% as compared to 14.29% in Corpus 1), whereas they were still a minority, if substantial (42.86%), in Corpus 2. Indeed, everywhere the predominance of

⁸⁵ Since the data for "Lt = Heb" are counted according to the Latin, it should be noted that two of the instances of equivalency among main clauses with pronominal O in the order VO are Latin pronouns substituted for Hebrew nouns (Esth 2:3 and 17).

⁸⁶ For the data on Corpus 2, see Table 4.11 above.

Turning from the subtlety of such surgical deletions, we find that Jerome is also capable of simply rewriting or paraphrasing certain clauses.⁹³

- (95) (a) û=malkût=āh yittēn hammelek lir'ût=āh . . .
 and=reign=3SG.F give:PFX.ACT.3SG the:king to:fellow=3SG.F
 ‘and let the king give her reign to her fellow [i.e. to another] . . .’ (Esth 1:19)
- (b) sed regnum illius altera . . . accipiat
 but reign:ACC.SG she:GEN.SG another:NOM.SG receive:PRS.SBJV.ACT.3SG
 ‘but [that] another . . . should receive her reign’ (Esth 1:19)

The promotion of the dative *lir'ûtāh* ‘to her fellow’ (95a) to the subject *altera* ‘another’ (95b) requires a fairly significant reworking of this clause, such that only the object remains in place. In terms of the grammatical word order, the Hebrew OVS is replaced in Latin by the order OSV. Note that this favors both an SV order as well as the placement of V in final position in the Latin rendering.

Finally, there are some instances where St. Jerome has altered the syntactic relationships of the words in a clause, while at the same time leaving the semantic word order in place. This means that the data presented above – since it is counting the grammatical word order – will reflect a disparity between the Hebrew source text and its Latin rendering, despite the fact that, in some very real sense, the order of the (semantic) words has been preserved in translation. The reasons behind such a shift in the syntax are not always clear, as in (96) where the shift has been from VO in the Hebrew to the

⁹³ Example (95) is the very next clause after that of example (89) above (and in the Latin, still dependent on the conjunction *ut* ‘that’), both being from Esth 1:19.

generally disfavored VS in the Latin.⁹⁴

- (96) (a) *yəbaqšû lammelek nə‘ārôt bətûlôt ʔôbôt mar’eh*
 seek:PFX.ACT.3PL for:the:king girl:PL virgin:PL good:CST.PL appearance
 ‘let them seek for the king girls, virgins good of appearance’ (Esth 2:2)
- (b) *quaerantur regi puellae virgines ac*
 seek:PRS.SBJV.PASS.3PL king:DAT.SG girl:NOM.PL virgin:NOM.PL and
speciosae
 good-looking
 ‘let there be sought for the king girls, virgins and good-looking’ (Esth 2:2)

In the case of (97), however, there is a clear strategy in the syntactic revision.

- (97) (a) *wayyāqām šəmû‘ēl wayyēlek ‘el- ‘ēlî*
 and:rise:WPFX.ACT.3SG Samuel and:go:WPFX.ACT.3SG to Eli
 ‘and Samuel rose and (he) went to Eli’ (1 Sam 3:6)
- (b) *consurgens=que Samuhel abiit ad Heli*
 rise:PRS.ACT.PTCP.NOM.SG=and Samuel[nom.sg] go:PRF.ACT.3SG to Eli[acc.sg]
 ‘and rising, Samuel went to Eli’ (1 Sam 3:6)

Here, the two paratactically joined clauses of the Hebrew are refashioned into a single Latin clause by turning the first Hebrew verb into a Latin participle (and deleting the second Hebrew conjunction).⁹⁵ Not only is the resultant hypotaxis more in keeping with Latin style, but the shift allows the subject of the first Hebrew verb to be reanalyzed as

⁹⁴ Given the use of the jussive or volitive subjunctive (HBLG § 501.3) in the Latin of (96b), however, the choice of VS word order may be related to the tendency of imperatives to appear in first position (cf. the discussion in Devine and Stephens [2006, 149–50]).

⁹⁵ In a pro-drop (null-subject) language, it can be difficult, if not impossible, to make a distinction between a single clause with a compound verb phrase and two coordinate clauses whose subjects are the same referent. It has seemed best for the present discussion to treat the Hebrew of (97a) as two clauses.

the subject of the second (and in the Latin, only finite) verb, turning the Hebrew VS||V order into PTCP.SV in the Latin. That is, a VS clause has been given up for an SV one; and yet (with the exception of the deleted conjunction) the semantic word order has remained completely unaltered.

D. Statistical Analysis

As was done for genitives and demonstrative adjectives in the previous chapters, this chapter's examination of the placement of verbs in each corpus is augmented in the following sections by a statistical comparison of the data sets. The consistency of the ordering of Latin verbs from one corpus to another – both absolutely and relative to S and O – is analyzed, as is that between St. Jerome's translations of Judith and the other texts of Corpus 3.

Once again, a chi square test (test of independence) has been performed on each data set, with the null hypothesis being that the two variables (group affiliation and word order) are independent. The threshold for statistical significance remains at $p = .05$, but again the actual p -values for each chi square test are reported.⁹⁶

D.1. Comparison of Latin Verbs between Corpora

The primary focus of this investigation being on the word order of St. Jerome's translations compared to that of his original Latin writings, the first chi square tests of this chapter analyzed the distribution of the absolute positions of V (initial, medial, or final) between the Latin of each corpus and that of the others. The results of these chi

⁹⁶ For further details of the methodology, see Ch. II, § F.

square tests for main clauses are presented in Table 4.17.⁹⁷

Table 4.17 *Comparison of absolute positions of V between corpora: Main clauses*

A. Corpora 1 and 2: Original writings vs. translations from Greek						
	V-initial		V-medial		V-final	
Corpus 1	17	(13.49%)	37	(29.37%)	72	(57.14%)
Corpus 2	33	(32.04%)	45	(43.69%)	25	(24.27%)
					Chi Square Test: $p = 1.65 \times 10^{-6}$	
B. Corpora 1 and 3: Original writings vs. translations from Hebrew plus Judith						
	V-initial		V-medial		V-final	
Corpus 1	17	(13.49%)	37	(29.37%)	72	(57.14%)
Corpus 3	150	(56.39%)	78	(29.32%)	38	(14.29%)
					Chi Square Test: $p = 6.72 \times 10^{-21}$	
C. Corpora 2 and 3: Translations from Greek vs. translations from Hebrew plus Judith						
	V-initial		V-medial		V-final	
Corpus 2	33	(32.04%)	45	(43.69%)	25	(24.27%)
Corpus 3	150	(56.39%)	78	(29.32%)	38	(14.29%)
					Chi Square Test: $p = 1.36 \times 10^{-4}$	

The statistically significant p -values for every pairing in Table 4.17 establish beyond any doubt the disparity of distributions of the placement of V in main clauses among the three corpora.⁹⁸

Similar, if somewhat less extreme, p -values result from chi square tests performed on the data for subordinate clauses, as may be seen in Table 4.18:

⁹⁷ In this and all of the following tables, percentages are provided to facilitate the reader's comparison of the data. The chi square tests, however, were performed on the raw counts in each set.

⁹⁸ As was noted previously, values such as $p = 6.72 \times 10^{-21}$ (Table 4.17.B), while seeming to lie beyond the precision merited by the data, nonetheless give an impression of the degree of disparity.

Table 4.18 *Comparison of absolute positions of V between corpora: Subordinate clauses*

A. Corpora 1 and 2: Original writings vs. translations from Greek						
	V-initial		V-medial		V-final	
Corpus 1	6	(8.70%)	23	(33.33%)	40	(57.97%)
Corpus 2	18	(28.13%)	18	(28.13%)	28	(43.75%)
						Chi Square Test: $p = .01$
B. Corpora 1 and 3: Original writings vs. translations from Hebrew plus Judith						
	V-initial		V-medial		V-final	
Corpus 1	6	(8.70%)	23	(33.33%)	40	(57.97%)
Corpus 3	76	(56.72%)	36	(26.87%)	22	(16.42%)
						Chi Square Test: $p = 4.17 \times 10^{-12}$
C. Corpora 2 and 3: Translations from Greek vs. translations from Hebrew plus Judith						
	V-initial		V-medial		V-final	
Corpus 2	18	(28.13%)	18	(28.13%)	28	(43.75%)
Corpus 3	76	(56.72%)	36	(26.87%)	22	(16.42%)
						Chi Square Test: $p = 3.91 \times 10^{-5}$

Just as for main clauses in the previous table, all of the p -values for subordinate clauses in Table 4.18 are statistically significant (though that for the comparison of Corpora 1 and 2 is appreciably closer to the threshold of $p = .05$ than that of the other pairings). This means that, with regard to the absolute position of V, both in main clauses and in subordinate clauses, Jerome's translations cannot be said to be conformed to his native syntax; nor can it be said that there is a common syntax among his translations, regardless of source and genre.⁹⁹

In order to gain some insight into the causes of this disparity among the corpora, the distributions of the positions of V in the Latin translations of Corpora 2 and 3 were compared to those of their source texts (Greek and Hebrew, respectively). The results of

⁹⁹ Cf. the similar findings in the previous chapters for genitives (Table 2.10 and the discussion there) and demonstrative adjectives (Table 3.9 and its discussion).

the chi square tests for these comparisons appear in Table 4.19.

Table 4.19 *Comparison of absolute positions of V between Latin translations and their source texts*

A. Corpus 2: Main clauses						
	V-initial		V-medial		V-final	
Latin	33	(32.04%)	45	(43.69%)	25	(24.27%)
Greek	29	(31.87%)	46	(50.55%)	16	(17.58%)
					Chi Square Test: $p = .47$	
B. Corpus 2: Subordinate clauses						
	V-initial		V-medial		V-final	
Latin	18	(28.13%)	18	(28.13%)	28	(43.75%)
Greek	25	(34.25%)	28	(38.36%)	20	(27.40%)
					Chi Square Test: $p = .13$	
C. Corpus 3 (1 Sam and Esth only): Main clauses						
	V-initial		V-medial		V-final	
Latin	105	(58.66%)	49	(27.37%)	25	(13.97%)
Hebrew	129	(66.49%)	46	(23.71%)	19	(9.79%)
					Chi Square Test: $p = .25$	
D. Corpus 3 (1 Sam and Esth only): Subordinate clauses						
	V-initial		V-medial		V-final	
Latin	54	(57.45%)	25	(26.60%)	15	(15.96%)
Hebrew	22	(68.75%)	9	(28.13%)	1	(3.13%)
					Chi Square Test: $p = .16$	

The fact that none of the p -values in Table 4.19 is statistically significant – i.e., that the placement of V in the Latin translations of Corpora 2 and 3 cannot, statistically speaking, be distinguished from the placement of V in their Greek and Hebrew source texts – seems both to bolster St. Jerome’s claim of word-order literalism in scriptural translation and to undermine his claim of translational freedom in the rendering of other texts (Ep. 57.5.2). This judgment, however, must be tempered by the previously reported figures for the actual dependence of Latin verbs on those of the source texts (Lt = Gr and Lt = Heb in

previous tables), which are generally low for Greek (Table 4.7) and vary between substantial and very low for Hebrew (Table 4.12).¹⁰⁰ Nonetheless, the disparities in the placement of Latin V among the corpora do seem on the whole to be explained by the adherence of the Latin translations to the word order of their source texts.¹⁰¹

Turning from the absolute position of V in its clause to its position relative to the constituents S and O, we encounter the same problem affecting the ability to analyze some of the data by way of the chi square test that was addressed in the previous two chapters. For the data on the relative positions of all three constituents – V, S, and O – there are many instances where the observed frequencies amount to few or none.¹⁰² As a result, the calculated expected frequencies are often below five, with some being less than one. In order to minimize statistical inaccuracies, therefore, the analysis of these data with chi square tests has been passed over.

The data on the pairing of V and nominal S alone, however, are much more robust.¹⁰³ The results of the chi square tests comparing the Latin of each corpus are

¹⁰⁰ See the discussion following Table 4.12 for an explanation of the complex relationship of these figures to the texts they represent.

¹⁰¹ It is interesting to observe that in Table 4.19 the *p*-values for subordinate clauses are lower than those for main clauses in both Corpus 2 and Corpus 3. If we take this as a measure of the correspondence between the Latin translations and their source texts, it appears that Latin subordinate clauses are more resistant to accommodating foreign word orders. This is in keeping with the native conservatism for verb placement in Latin subordinate clauses noted by Adams (1976, 93n61) and others.

¹⁰² See Tables 4.3, 4.4, 4.8, 4.9, 4.13, and 4.14 above.

¹⁰³ The fact that in Corpora 1 and 2 there are only a few instances of the order VS in subordinate clauses (with the expected frequencies when comparing these two corpora being 5.09 and 3.91 respectively) deserves to be noted. However, given that Ravid (2000, 242) and others have questioned the necessity of using Yates' Correction in an instance like this, the analysis has been allowed to stand. Moreover, the concern with such data is in the likelihood of making a Type I error, which is plainly not the case with the statistically non-significant value $p = .12$ (Table 4.20.A). For the comparison of Corpora 1 and 3, the expected frequencies are all well above five.

presented in Table 4.20.

Table 4.20 *Comparison of relative positions of V and nominal S between corpora*

A. Corpora 1 and 2: Original writings vs. translations from Greek								
	Main Clauses				Subordinate Clauses			
	VS		SV		VS	SV		
Corpus 1	14	(21.88%)	50	(78.13%)	3	(10.00%)	27	(90.00%)
Corpus 2	17	(44.74%)	21	(55.26%)	6	(26.09%)	17	(73.91%)
	Chi Square Test: $p = .02$				Chi Square Test: $p = .12$			

B. Corpora 1 and 3: Original writings vs. translations from Hebrew plus Judith								
	Main Clauses				Subordinate Clauses			
	VS		SV		VS	SV		
Corpus 1	14	(21.88%)	50	(78.13%)	3	(10.00%)	27	(90.00%)
Corpus 3	70	(59.32%)	48	(40.68%)	31	(64.58%)	17	(35.42%)
	Chi Square Test: $p = 1.31 \times 10^{-6}$				Chi Square Test: $p = 2.25 \times 10^{-6}$			

C. Corpora 2 and 3: Translations from Greek vs. translations from Hebrew plus Judith								
	Main Clauses				Subordinate Clauses			
	VS		SV		VS	SV		
Corpus 2	17	(44.74%)	21	(55.26%)	6	(26.09%)	17	(73.91%)
Corpus 3	70	(59.32%)	48	(40.68%)	31	(64.58%)	17	(35.42%)
	Chi Square Test: $p = .12$				Chi Square Test: $p = 2.38 \times 10^{-3}$			

An interesting pattern emerges here. Among main clauses, there is a statistically significant disparity in the ordering of V and S between Corpora 1 and 2 ($p = .02$), as well as between Corpora 1 and 3 ($p = 1.31 \times 10^{-6}$); but the disparity is not statistically significant between Corpora 2 and 3 ($p = .12$). By itself, this would favor reading in the data a consistent word order among translations which is nevertheless different from that of St. Jerome's native syntax. Among subordinate clauses, however, the alignment is different. The disparity between Corpora 1 and 2 is not statistically significant ($p = .12$), but the differences of word order do rise to the level of statistical significance between Corpora 1 and 3 ($p = 2.25 \times 10^{-6}$) and between Corpora 2 and 3 ($p = 2.38 \times 10^{-3}$). While

complicating the analysis of Jerome's technique with regard to his translation from the Greek, the statistical evaluation of these data clearly confirms that in both main and subordinate clauses the word order of his translations from the Hebrew is significantly different from that of his original Latin writings.

It was shown above how this discrepancy between the word order of St. Jerome's original Latin writings and that of his translations from the Hebrew in Corpus 3 is related to the clear dependence of these translations on the word order of his Hebrew source texts.¹⁰⁴ By contrast, the considerable independence of his translation from the Greek in Corpus 2 was observed, despite the general similarity of word orders between that translation and the Greek source text.¹⁰⁵ These underlying facts must be used to temper any merely numerical comparison of the Latin translations with their sources.

¹⁰⁴ See Table 4.15 and the discussion there.

¹⁰⁵ See Table 4.10 and the discussion there.

That said, for the sake of completeness, the results of chi square tests comparing St. Jerome's Latin translations in Corpora 2 and 3 with their respective Greek and Hebrew source texts is presented in Table 4.21.¹⁰⁶

Table 4.21 *Comparison of relative positions of V and nominal S between Latin translations and their source texts*

A. Corpus 2							
	Main Clauses				Subordinate Clauses		
	VS		SV		VS		SV
Latin	17	(44.74%)	21	(55.26%)	6	(26.09%)	17 (73.91%)
Greek	17	(43.59%)	22	(56.41%)	12	(41.38%)	17 (58.62%)
Chi Square Test: $p = .92$					Chi Square Test: $p = .25$		
B. Corpus 3 (1 Sam and Esth only)							
	Main Clauses				Subordinate Clauses		
	VS		SV		VS		SV
Latin	57	(63.33%)	33	(36.67%)	22	(62.86%)	13 (37.14%)
Hebrew	73	(73.74%)	26	(26.26%)	16	(94.12%)	1 (5.88%)
Chi Square Test: $p = .12$					Chi Square Test: $p = .02$		

With the exception of subordinate clauses in Corpus 3, it appears that discrepancies in the relative order of V and nominal S between Jerome's Latin translations and their source texts are not statistically significant. In other words, by a purely numerical assessment, the Latin generally corresponds to the order of its source text. However, it should be kept in mind that this has very different implications from one corpus to the other. In Corpus 2 the dominance of the order SV is in keeping with Latin's native preference, while in

¹⁰⁶ The number of instances of SV in subordinate clauses in Corpus 3 (Table 4.21.B) is low (the expected frequency for Hebrew being 4.58), and the resulting p -value this time is significant ($p = .02$), meaning that there is some concern over the possibility of a Type I error. Even applying Yates' Correction, however, the result would be statistically significant; therefore, the uncorrected p -value was allowed to stand (see Ravid's [2000, 242] questioning of the need to apply the correction, as mentioned above).

Corpus 3 the favoring of VS is quite foreign to the Latin idiom. Thus the correspondence with the Greek of Corpus 2 may be little more than coincidence, but with the Hebrew of Corpus 3 the Latin word order is clearly imitative.¹⁰⁷

As was the case with the data on the ordering of all three constituents, the data for the ordering of V and pronominal S include too few instances to admit of analysis with chi square tests.¹⁰⁸ Therefore, the statistical analysis of these data has been passed over.

Moving on to the ordering of V and nominal O, we present the results of the chi square tests comparing the Latin of each corpus in Table 4.22.

Table 4.22 *Comparison of relative positions of V and nominal O between corpora*

A. Corpora 1 and 2: Original writings vs. translations from Greek								
	Main Clauses				Subordinate Clauses			
	VO		OV		VO	OV		
Corpus 1	16	(32.00%)	34	(68.00%)	11	(30.56%)	25	(69.44%)
Corpus 2	33	(73.33%)	12	(26.67%)	13	(61.90%)	8	(38.10%)
Chi Square Test: $p = 5.70 \times 10^{-5}$					Chi Square Test: $p = .02$			
B. Corpora 1 and 3: Original writings vs. translations from Hebrew plus Judith								
	Main Clauses				Subordinate Clauses			
	VO		OV		VO	OV		
Corpus 1	16	(32.00%)	34	(68.00%)	11	(30.56%)	25	(69.44%)
Corpus 3	101	(82.79%)	21	(17.21%)	37	(78.72%)	10	(21.28%)
Chi Square Test: $p = 8.88 \times 10^{-11}$					Chi Square Test: $p = 1.06 \times 10^{-5}$			
C. Corpora 2 and 3: Translations from Greek vs. translations from Hebrew plus Judith								
	Main Clauses				Subordinate Clauses			
	VO		OV		VO	OV		
Corpus 2	33	(73.33%)	12	(26.67%)	13	(61.90%)	8	(38.10%)
Corpus 3	101	(82.79%)	21	(17.21%)	37	(78.72%)	10	(21.28%)
Chi Square Test: $p = .17$					Chi Square Test: $p = .15$			

¹⁰⁷ Even among subordinate clauses, where the difference of ordering is statistically significant ($p = .02$), the fact that a clear majority of Latin clauses (62.86%) are in the non-native order VS shows the influence of the Hebrew on the Latin word order.

¹⁰⁸ See Tables 4.5, 4.10, and 4.15.

The statistically significant disparities between Corpora 1 and 2 (where $p = 5.70 \times 10^{-5}$ for main clauses and .02 for subordinate clauses) and between Corpora 1 and 3 (where $p = 8.88 \times 10^{-11}$ for main clauses and 1.06×10^{-5} for subordinate clauses), when combined with the statistically non-significant differences between Corpora 2 and 3 (where $p = .17$ for main clauses and .15 for subordinate clauses), once again give the impression that there is a consistent word order for translations which is different from that of Jerome's original Latin writings. However, the correspondence between Corpora 2 and 3 does not take into account whether V is medial (particularly SVO in Corpus 2) or initial (particularly VSO in Corpus 3) – either way, O is placed after V. Therefore, the more accurate reading of the results in Table 4.22 is simply that the original Latin writings of Corpus 1 are significantly different from the translation Latin both of Corpus 2 and of Corpus 3 with regard to the ordering of V and O.

The results of chi square tests comparing the data for V and nominal O in the Latin translations of Corpora 2 and 3 to their Greek and Hebrew source texts are presented in Table 4.23.¹⁰⁹

Table 4.23 *Comparison of relative positions of V and nominal O between Latin translations and their source texts*

A. Corpus 2						
	Main Clauses				Subordinate Clauses	
	VO		OV		VO	OV
Latin	33	(73.33%)	12	(26.67%)	13	(61.90%)
Greek	26	(72.22%)	10	(27.78%)	15	(71.43%)
	Chi Square Test: $p = .91$				Chi Square Test: $p = .51$	
B. Corpus 3 (1 Sam and Esth only)						
	Main Clauses				Subordinate Clauses	
	VO		OV		VO	OV
Latin	62	(88.57%)	8	(11.43%)	30	(85.71%)
Hebrew	62	(88.57%)	8	(11.43%)	9	(81.82%)
	Chi Square Test: $p = 1.00$				Chi Square Test: $p = .75$	

Once again, the actual reliance of the Latin word order on that of its source text is more complicated than the data of Table 4.23 would suggest. For example, although Latin and Hebrew main clauses appear to correspond exactly, in only 42 of the 62 instances of the order VO (67.74%) does the Latin verb directly correspond to a finite verb in the Hebrew source text.¹¹⁰ Nonetheless, the overall trajectory of the data does suggest that the underlying reason for the differences in the relative ordering of V and nominal O between

¹⁰⁹ As was the case before (see n. 103), the low number of Hebrew subordinate clauses in the order OV (Table 4.23.B) is not of concern here since the value $p = .75$ is not significant.

¹¹⁰ See Lt = Heb in Table 4.16, keeping in mind that the present figures omit the count for Judith, since there is no Hebrew source text with which to compare it.

St. Jerome's original Latin writings and his translations is that his translations are more or less conformed to the word orders of his source texts.

The generally low counts for pronominal O, particularly in Corpora 1 and 2, militate against the analysis of these data with chi square tests. As before, then, this analysis has been passed over.¹¹¹

D.2. Statistical Evaluation of the Translation of Judith

In accord with the practice established in previous chapters, the data from St. Jerome's translation of Judith, because the book was not rendered from a Hebrew source text but from a Chaldean (Aramaic) source which is no longer extant, are once again compared to the data from his original Latin writings (Corpus 1), as well as to those from his other Old Testament translations (First Samuel and Esther). As before, the question at hand is whether the translation of Judith, which Jerome himself in the book's prologue calls "more sense for sense than word for word,"¹¹² is closer in word order to his native Latin idiom or to that of his translations from the Hebrew.

¹¹¹ See the discussions above on V, S, and O taken together and on pronominal S. For the counts of pronominal O, see Tables 4.6, 4.11, and 4.16 (excluding the counts for Judith).

¹¹² "Magis sensum e sensu quam ex verbo verbum" (BSV 691).

Therefore, chi square tests were performed on the data, first of all with regard to the absolute position of V in its clause (initial, medial, or final).¹¹³ The results are presented in Table 4.24.

Table 4.24 *Comparison of absolute positions of V in the translation of Judith to those in the original writings and the translations from Hebrew*

A. Corpora 1 and 3: Original writings vs. translation of Judith – main clauses						
	V-initial		V-medial		V-final	
Corpus 1	17	(13.49%)	37	(29.37%)	72	(57.14%)
Judith	45	(51.72%)	29	(33.33%)	13	(14.94%)
					Chi Square Test: $p = 2.21 \times 10^{-11}$	
B. Corpora 1 and 3: Original writings vs. translation of Judith – subordinate clauses						
	V-initial		V-medial		V-final	
Corpus 1	6	(8.70%)	23	(33.33%)	40	(57.97%)
Judith	22	(55.00%)	11	(27.50%)	7	(17.50%)
					Chi Square Test: $p = 1.83 \times 10^{-7}$	
C. Corpus 3: Translations from Hebrew vs. translation of Judith – main clauses						
	V-initial		V-medial		V-final	
from Heb	105	(58.66%)	49	(27.37%)	25	(13.97%)
Judith	45	(51.72%)	29	(33.33%)	13	(14.94%)
					Chi Square Test: $p = .54$	
D. Corpus 3: Translations from Hebrew vs. translation of Judith – subordinate clauses						
	V-initial		V-medial		V-final	
from Heb	54	(57.45%)	25	(26.60%)	15	(15.96%)
Judith	22	(55.00%)	11	(27.50%)	7	(17.50%)
					Chi Square Test: $p = .96$	

In both main and subordinate clauses, the disparity in the placement of V between Jerome's translation of Judith and his original Latin writings is decidedly significant

¹¹³ The same issues concerning low data counts that affected the foregoing statistical analyses (for example, the need to pass over the data for pronominal subjects and objects) remain a problem for this more narrowly focused analysis. Thus the following presentation will parallel what has preceded.

($p = 2.21 \times 10^{-11}$ for main clauses, 1.83×10^{-7} for subordinate clauses), while at the same time the comparison of the translation of Judith to those from the Hebrew yields what are clearly non-significant p -values (.54 for main and .96 for subordinate clauses). This means that, as far as the absolute position of V, the translation of Judith does not evince the influence of St. Jerome's native word order, but rather that of his translations from the Hebrew, a finding which is consistent with those of Chapters II and III.¹¹⁴

The second aspect of the word order of Judith examined is the relative position of V and nominal S. The results of these chi square tests are found in Table 4.25.¹¹⁵

Table 4.25 *Comparison of relative positions of V and nominal S in the translation of Judith to those in the original writings and the translations from Hebrew*

A. Corpora 1 and 3: Original writings vs. translation of Judith								
	Main Clauses				Subordinate Clauses			
	VS		SV		VS	SV		
Corpus 1	14	(21.88%)	50	(78.13%)	3	(10.00%)	27	(90.00%)
Judith	13	(46.43%)	15	(53.57%)	9	(69.23%)	4	(30.77%)
Chi Square Test: $p = .02$					Chi Square Test: $p = 6.98 \times 10^{-5}$			

B. Corpus 3: Translations from Hebrew vs. translation of Judith								
	Main Clauses				Subordinate Clauses			
	VS		SV		VS	SV		
from Heb	57	(63.33%)	33	(36.67%)	22	(62.86%)	13	(37.14%)
Judith	13	(46.43%)	15	(53.57%)	9	(69.23%)	4	(30.77%)
Chi Square Test: $p = .11$					Chi Square Test: $p = .68$			

¹¹⁴ See Tables 2.13 and 3.12 and the discussions of each.

¹¹⁵ The data counts for subordinate clauses in this table are low enough to require caution in the application of the chi square test (expected frequencies, which are not seen in the table but are part of the chi square calculation, dipping below five). However, the p -value for subordinate clauses in part A of the table would be clearly significant even with Yates' Correction, and so the uncorrected value has been allowed to stand (see Ravid's [2000, 242] questioning of the need to apply the correction, as mentioned above). In part B of the table, the p -value for subordinate clauses is clearly not significant ($p = .68$), meaning that there is no danger of a Type I error.

Here the differences are not quite as severe as in the previous table, but the evaluation is much the same. The comparison of Jerome's original Latin to his translation of Judith yields significant p -values (.02 for main clauses and 6.98×10^{-5} for subordinate clauses), and the p -values for the comparison of the translation of Judith to his translations from the Hebrew are again not significant (.11 for main clauses and .68 for subordinate). Thus, here too we see that his rendering of Judith conforms more to that of his other Old Testament translations than to his native idiom.

Finally, the relative ordering of V and nominal O is examined, the results from these chi square tests being presented in Table 4.26.¹¹⁶

Table 4.26 *Comparison of relative positions of V and nominal O in the translation of Judith to those in the original writings and the translations from Hebrew*

A. Corpora 1 and 3: Original writings vs. translation of Judith								
	Main Clauses				Subordinate Clauses			
	VO		OV		VO	OV		
Corpus 1	16	(32.00%)	34	(68.00%)	11	(30.56%)	25	(69.44%)
Judith	39	(75.00%)	13	(25.00%)	7	(58.33%)	5	(41.67%)
Chi Square Test: $p = 1.33 \times 10^{-5}$					Chi Square Test: $p = .09$			
B. Corpus 3: Translations from Hebrew vs. translation of Judith								
	Main Clauses				Subordinate Clauses			
	VO		OV		VO	OV		
from Heb	62	(88.57%)	8	(11.43%)	30	(85.71%)	5	(14.29%)
Judith	39	(75.00%)	13	(25.00%)	7	(58.33%)	5	(41.67%)
Chi Square Test: $p = .05$					Chi Square Test: $p = .05$			

A more complicated picture emerges from these data. While the comparison of main

¹¹⁶ The data counts for subordinate clauses are again low. Since in part A of the table the p -value is not significant (.09) and there is no concern about making a Type I error, it has been allowed to stand. For the subordinate clauses of part B, however, see the discussion which follows the table.

clauses between the translation of Judith and Jerome's original writings again results in the unquestionably significant value $p = 1.33 \times 10^{-5}$, the comparison of subordinate clauses in these same texts yields the non-significant $p = .09$. Furthermore, the comparison of the translation of Judith to the translations from the Hebrew yields two borderline figures: .05 (underlyingly .04955928) for main clauses and .05 (underlyingly .045504607) for subordinate clauses. Both of these are technically significant, if just barely so. However, the low data counts for subordinate clauses (with the expected frequency of OV for Judith in this comparison being 2.55, well below the threshold of five) would prompt some statisticians to employ Yates' Correction, which in this instance would nudge the chi square value over the line into non-significance.

Although the statistical analysis of the data in Table 4.26 does not yield clear and obvious answers like those of the previous two tables, neither does it contradict the foregoing evaluation of the relationships of these texts. The shift of weight from OV in Corpus 1 (Jerome's original Latin writings) to VO in both the translation of Judith and the translations from the Hebrew is apparent in the raw data. That this shift does not rise to the level of statistical proof is a matter of degree, but not of general trajectory. Therefore, despite the inconclusive analysis of the data in Table 4.26, we can maintain that St. Jerome's translation of Judith, with regard to the placement of verbs, is aligned with his translations from the Hebrew Old Testament, and not with his native idiom as observed in Corpus 1.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ A disparity of word orders within Corpus 3 like that explored in the previous chapter for demonstratives (see Tables 3.12–14 and their discussions), was not apparent in the data for the ordering of verbs. Therefore, a statistical analysis comparing the individual texts of Corpus 3 to each other and to Corpus 1 was not undertaken.

E. Summary and Conclusions for Verbs

Beginning with St. Jerome's original Latin writings (Corpus 1), we find that verbs, though appearing in all three possible positions (initial, medial, and final), are placed in absolute final position in a clear majority of instances (57.14% of main clauses and 57.97% of subordinate clauses), and also favor relative final position (particularly SOV, which accounts for 55% of main clauses with nominal S and O) – a preference which some would take as normative for Latin (Devine and Stephens 2006, LHS, etc.); and which, in addition to being consistent with the word order of other works by Jerome (Heimann 1966; Ostafin 1986, 162), is also evidenced, if to a lesser degree, in the works of St. Augustine (Muldowney 1937) and later authors (Wilkins 1940). Moreover, in the binary pairing of V and S, we observe that the order SV overwhelmingly (and unsurprisingly) predominates in both main and subordinate clauses, whether S is nominal or pronominal (Table 4.5). A somewhat more subdued, but still predominant, occurrence of the order OV was likewise found in the data (Table 4.6).

Jerome's Latin translation from the Greek in Corpus 2, despite continuing (against the tendencies of the Greek) to favor V in absolute final position among subordinate clauses (43.75%), shows a definite preference among main clauses for V-medial (43.69%). This shift in the distribution of the absolute positions of V in main clauses is statistically significant compared to Corpus 1 ($p = 1.65 \times 10^{-6}$) and appears to mimic the general distribution of the placement of V in the Greek source text, the variance between the Latin translation and the Greek not being statistically significant ($p = .47$ for main clauses). The predominance of the order SVO, both in the Latin and in the Greek (Tables 4.8 and 4.9), echoes this preference for medial V.

There are in the data, however, certain indications of St. Jerome's independence from the Greek which must temper any notion of slavish literalism in his translation. This is especially true when it comes to the relative ordering of V and nominal S, where for main clauses the Latin once again follows the Greek numerically with a much higher incidence of the order VS (44.74% compared to just 21.88% in Corpus 1, a statistically significant difference where $p = .02$), but only 6 out of 17 (35.29%) of those Latin verbs are directly imitative of the Greek source text. At the same time, subordinate clauses show only a moderate increase in the order VS (which is not significant at $p = .12$), while exhibiting considerable independence among clauses in the order SV, 82.35% being independent of the Greek (Table 4.10).¹¹⁸

Given the increased occurrence of medial V (and particularly the order SVO) in Corpus 2, it is not surprising that the most pronounced difference in word order from Corpus 1 is found in the relative ordering of V and O. Whereas Jerome's original Latin writings have everywhere a majority of their clauses in the order OV (Table 4.6), the Latin of Corpus 2 (Table 4.11) shows a preference for VO in every circumstance except subordinate clauses with pronominal O (and even then 42.86% are VO). For clauses with nominal O, this shift is statistically significant ($p = 5.70 \times 10^{-5}$ for main clauses and .02 for subordinate clauses); and the numerical discrepancies between the Latin translation and its Greek source text are not significant ($p = .91$ for main clauses and .51 for subordinate clauses). Again, however, there are some indications of an underlying independence in the Latin translation – for example, only 25% of Latin main clauses with

¹¹⁸ Though not statistically analyzed, it may be noted that main clauses with pronominal S remained entirely in the order SV, as in Corpus 1.

nominal O in the order OV (and just under half of those in the opposite order) are directly imitative of the Greek (Table 4.11).

When it comes to the Old Testament translations of Corpus 3, almost every facet of their verbal word order is dramatically different from that of St. Jerome's original Latin writings (and of Latin more generally). Clauses with V in absolute initial position, while accounting for the smallest part of verbs in Corpus 1 (13.49% of main clauses and 8.70% of subordinate clauses), are the clear majority in this corpus (56.39% of main clauses and 56.72% of subordinate clauses) – a shift which is unquestionably significant, as $p = 6.72 \times 10^{-21}$ for main clauses and 4.17×10^{-12} for subordinate clauses. Moreover, the discrepancies between the Latin translations from the Hebrew and the Hebrew source texts themselves are not statistically significant ($p = .25$ for main clauses and $.16$ for subordinate clauses)¹¹⁹ – which, when taken together with the fact that 77.14% of the Latin's V-initial main clauses are directly equivalent to the Hebrew, strongly suggests that this anomalous word order is the result of a close adherence to the word order of the Hebrew source texts.¹²⁰

This shift toward initial V in Corpus 3 is also reflected in the relative ordering of constituents, with the appearance – and even predominance – of relative V-initial word orders (particularly VSO which alone counts for 38.89% of main clauses with nominal S and O, and 45.45% of subordinate ones), when almost none were found in Corpus 1.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ As previously noted, the data from Judith are excluded from these figures, since there is no Hebrew source text with which to compare them.

¹²⁰ For an explanation of the notably low counts found in some other word orders for the actual correspondence of the Latin to the Hebrew (Lt = Heb), see the discussion following Table 4.12.

¹²¹ For nominal S and O, there are in fact none (Table 4.3); among clauses with pronominal S or O, there is a single instance of the order VOS (Table 4.4).

At the same time, there is also a strong showing for the order SVO among both Latin and Hebrew clauses, while the order SOV, which accounted for 55% of main clauses with nominal S and O in Corpus 1, has been reduced to a mere 5.56% of such Latin clauses in Corpus 3 (with none in the Hebrew).

For the relative ordering of V and nominal S in Corpus 3 there is also a significant departure from St. Jerome's native Latin style.¹²² Whereas in Corpus 1 the great majority of clauses with nominal S were found in the order SV (78.13% of main clauses and 90% of subordinate ones), the opposite order (VS) prevails among clauses with nominal S in Corpus 3 (59.32% of main clauses and 64.58% of subordinate clauses) – a statistically significant difference ($p = 1.31 \times 10^{-6}$ for main clauses and 2.25×10^{-6} for subordinate clauses) which, at least for main clauses, is clearly due to a high degree of dependence on the word order of the source texts (Tables 4.15 and 4.21.B).

A similar but more pronounced reversal of word order is observed in Corpus 3 for the relative ordering of V and O (both nominal and pronominal), in that the vast majority of clauses are now in the order VO (Table 4.16); and for those with nominal O, the differences from Corpus 1 are significant ($p = 8.88 \times 10^{-11}$ for main clauses and 1.06×10^{-5} for subordinate clauses). Again there are indications of a close adherence to the word order of the source texts (Tables 4.16 and 4.23.B).

From a typological point of view, these findings are once again quite revealing with regard to St. Jerome's translation technique. If Latin, in Jerome's writings as well as in those of other authors, is regularly V-final (specifically SOV) with only a minority of

¹²² The resistance of pronominal S to adopting a new order (Table 4.15) again deserves note.

clauses employing initial V, then for the majority of clauses in the Latin of Corpus 3 to be V-initial is surely anomalous.

A further case is to be found in the ordering of V and nominal S, where Jerome has abandoned the basic Latin order SV in his translations in Corpus 3 and has in the majority of instances adopted the order VS in imitation of his source texts.¹²³

Table 4.27 *Relative ordering of V and nominal S in Corpora 1 and 3*

	Main Clauses				Subordinate Clauses			
	VS		SV		VS		SV	
Corpus 1	14	(21.88%)	50	(78.13%)	3	(10.00%)	27	(90.00%)
Corpus 3	70	(59.32%)	48	(40.68%)	31	(64.58%)	17	(35.42%)
(a) 1 Sam	42	(66.67%)	21	(33.33%)	15	(71.43%)	6	(28.57%)
(b) Esth	15	(55.56%)	12	(44.44%)	7	(50.00%)	7	(50.00%)
(c) Jdt	13	(46.43%)	15	(53.57%)	9	(69.23%)	4	(30.77%)

As Table 4.27 shows, the reordering of V and S in Corpus 3, while not definitive for the composite figures, is indeed so prevalent in First Samuel (for both main and subordinate clauses) and among the subordinate clauses of Judith as to establish VS as the basic word order in these translations. This typological reversal, in clear imitation of the Hebrew and other source texts, may be accurately described as a quantitative Semiticism (Rubio 2009), and shows, as far as the positioning of subjects and verbs, St. Jerome's close adherence to the word order of his biblical source texts.

¹²³ For the determination of a basic word order, see Croft (2003, 43–44) and Dryer (1989, 70–71).

The same sort of reversal obtains for the relative ordering of V and nominal O, as seen in Table 4.28.

Table 4.28 *Relative ordering of V and nominal O in Corpora 1 and 3*

	Main Clauses				Subordinate Clauses			
	VO		OV		VO		OV	
Corpus 1	16	(32.00%)	34	(68.00%)	11	(30.56%)	25	(69.44%)
Corpus 3	101	(82.79%)	21	(17.21%)	37	(78.72%)	10	(21.28%)
(a) 1 Sam	44	(88.00%)	6	(12.00%)	22	(91.67%)	2	(8.33%)
(b) Esth	18	(90.00%)	2	(10.00%)	8	(72.73%)	3	(27.27%)
(c) Jdt	39	(75.00%)	13	(25.00%)	7	(58.33%)	5	(41.67%)

This time, however, the basic OV order found in both main and subordinate clauses of Corpus 1 is replaced by a basic VO order in both the composite figures for Corpus 3 as well as in almost every particular grouping within that corpus – subordinate clauses in Judith being the only exception, and even there, despite not rising to the level of a basic word order, the majority of clauses are nonetheless in that order. Yet while this reversal is, numerically speaking, rather dramatic, the arguments put forth by some scholars (Adams 1976, Panhuis 1982) that Latin was in the colloquial register an SVO language necessarily qualify any description of this as a quantitative Semiticism. In the sense that this change in word order is the result of an imitative translation technique, it may fairly be called such; but in the sense that it draws the Latin out of its ordinary syntactic patterns, it is arguably less so than was the case with nominal subjects, given that VS is marked in every register of Latin, while VO is unmarked in some.¹²⁴

¹²⁴ Even among St. Jerome's writings, we find that in the prologue to *In Esaiam* the order VO is favored in 6 out of 8 main clauses with nominal O (Table 4.6).

The placement of verbs in the translation from the Greek of Corpus 2 is more difficult to categorize. Among main clauses, Jerome's Latin rendering seems to have accommodated itself more or less to the V-medial habits of Origen's Greek – at least proportionally, if not always in direct reliance on the source text (Table 4.7). On the other hand, his subordinate clauses have largely retained their preference for final V (43.75%).

The shift toward medial V can also be seen in the prevalence of the order SVO in the Latin (as in the Greek) among both main and subordinate clauses. Under these circumstances, it is hardly surprising that the order VO asserts itself also in the Latin of this corpus, becoming the basic order for main clauses with nominal O. As mentioned, however, there are certain indications that this was an unmarked alternate order in colloquial Latin. Therefore, this could possibly imply nothing more than Jerome's giving free rein to a less literary style.

The best claim for a typological shift in Corpus 2, then, is found in the significant increase of the order VS among main clauses with nominal S. Nonetheless, since the order SV (as in the Greek) maintains a simple majority of instances (55.26%) – though no longer constituting a basic order as in Corpus 1 – there is nothing even here quite comparable to the typological upheaval observed in Corpus 3. Thus, while it seems likely that St. Jerome's ordering of verbs in Corpus 2 was influenced by the word order of his Greek source text, given the other evidence already rehearsed, the translation does not seem to be dependent on the Greek word order in the same way or to the same degree that his Old Testament translations are apparently dependent on the word orders of their source texts with regard to the placement of verbs.

CHAPTER V – CONCLUSION

A. Recapitulation

In order to test the thesis that within St. Jerome's oeuvre, Scripture translation, as a genre, licenses different rules of language usage, this study has examined the single parameter of word order, especially from a typological perspective, by quantifying and comparing data from a selection of Jerome's original writings and translations, as well as from the source texts of those translations. The raw data and its preliminary analysis were the subject of the three preceding chapters. In this final chapter, I will take a summary look at all the data, presenting my conclusions for the whole of this investigation, while at the same time noting certain questions for further investigation that have arisen in the course of analyzing the data.

B. Survey of the Data by Corpus

In Chapters II through IV, the data from each corpus were examined by syntagmatic, demonstrative adjective, and verb. This organization was useful for highlighting the differing approaches to each syntagm within the corpora; but in order to reach broader conclusions about St. Jerome's syntax vis-à-vis genre, we must now survey the data by corpus, arriving at a composite picture of the word orders employed in each of the three corpora studied.

B.1. St. Jerome's Original Writings (Corpus 1)

With regard to the ordering of genitives, demonstrative adjectives, and verbs, the Latin of St. Jerome's original writings was found to be largely consistent with that of the Classical period.¹ This is hardly surprising in the works of a self-confessed Ciceronian (Ep. 22.30.4), but it could not be assumed a priori, given the expanse of nearly four centuries between Cicero and Jerome.

Having examined selections from St. Jerome's epistles and prologues (Corpus 1), I found that both nominal and pronominal genitives are evenly split between pre- and postposition, such that neither order can be considered more basic than the other by the criterion of frequency. Additionally, it was found that there are many instances of disjunction, where some other constituent appears between the genitive and its noun (19.67% of nominal genitives and 20.00% of pronominal ones).²

Demonstrative adjectives, on the other hand, clearly favor being preposed, with 90.22% appearing before their nouns,³ making this the basic word order for demonstrative adjectives in Jerome's Latin according to Dryer's (1989, 70–71) standard.⁴ Here too, disjunction is common, occurring with fully a quarter of the demonstratives of this corpus.

Verbs appear most often in absolute final position (57.14% of main and 57.97% of

¹ See Devine and Stephens (2006), Lisón Huguet (2001), LHS, et al.

² There are, however, no instances of pronominal genitives in the order N_G among the data of Corpus 1. Indeed, disjunction with postposed genitives (as well as demonstratives) is rare or nonexistent in all three corpora.

³ The exceptional status of *iste* in the examined texts of Corpus 1 deserves note, but the paucity of forms and the contrary data from Heimann (1966) argue against seeing postposition as the certain word order of this demonstrative.

⁴ See also Croft (2003, 43–44).

subordinate clauses). They are also most often in relative final position, with SOV being the most common order for clauses with both nominal S and nominal O (55.00% of main and 38.46% of subordinate clauses).⁵ Moreover, if we consider only S and V, 78.13% of main clauses with nominal S and 90.00% of subordinate ones appear in the order SV, as do all clauses with pronominal S. This means that putting S before V is clearly the basic word order for these constituents in St. Jerome's Latin. It is likewise the basic word order in his Latin for O to precede V, an order which occurs in 68.00% to 85.71% of clauses.

For convenience, the more salient of these figures are summarized in Table 5.1.⁶

Table 5.1 *Summary of data for Corpus 1 (original writings)*

Genitives				
Nominal	GN/NG	51.64%	vs.	48.36%
Pronominal	GN/NG	50.00%	vs.	50.00%
Demonstrative Adjectives				
	DN		90.22%	basic order
Verbs				
Absolute position	V-final	main	57.14%	
		subordinate	57.97%	
Relative to S-nominal	SV	main	78.13%	basic order
		subordinate	90.00%	basic order
S-pronominal	SV	main	100.00%	basic order
		subordinate	100.00%	basic order
O-nominal	OV	main	68.00%	basic order
		subordinate	69.44%	basic order
O-pronominal	OV	main	80.00%	basic order
		subordinate	85.71%	basic order

⁵ For clauses where either S or O is a pronoun, SOV was still the most common order (75.00% of main clauses and 40.00% of subordinate clauses, equalled only by OSV); however, there were so few exemplars of such clauses that these are less reliable figures.

⁶ In this and subsequent tables, genitives and demonstratives are reported according to the bipartite arrangement of the data, where the disjunctive orders (G_N, N_G, D_N, and N_D) are subsumed under the corresponding simple orders.

B.2. Non-Scriptural Translations (Corpus 2)

The Latin of St. Jerome's translations from Origen's Greek homilies on Jeremiah is noticeably different in certain respects from that of his original writings. Genitive nouns observe the basic word order of postposition, with 69.41% of them placed thus. Genitive pronouns also favor postposition but fall short, by Dryer's (1989) standard, of establishing this as the basic word order (65.00%). Disjunction in the Latin of this corpus is less common than in Corpus 1, occurring in just 7.06% of instances with nominal genitives (though again appearing in 20.00% of those with pronominal genitives).

Demonstrative adjectives, by contrast, are preposed to their nouns at roughly the same rate (91.67%) as those of Corpus 1, meaning that preposing of demonstratives is again the basic word order in the Latin of this corpus. Disjunction, however, is reduced, being found with only 10.71% of demonstratives – less than half the rate of Corpus 1.

Though verbs are again found in absolute final position in the largest share of subordinate clauses (43.75%), main clauses favor a V-medial order over any other (43.69%) – a distribution which is numerically similar to that of the Greek source text (see below). This shift toward medial V is also reflected in the position of V relative to nominal S and O, where the order SVO is clearly the preferred order (57.14%) in both main and subordinate clauses, while but a single main clause (7.14%) follows the order SOV, and none is OSV. In main clauses with nominal S, the order SV is no longer basic, though still holding a simple majority (55.26%). In subordinate clauses with nominal S, however, SV is still the basic order (73.91%); and in main clauses with pronominal S,

this preference is absolute (100%).⁷ Given the shift toward medial V in this corpus, it is not surprising that O is postposed to V more often than in Corpus 1. In fact, for main clauses with nominal O, the order VO is the basic order (73.33%), while for subordinate clauses with nominal O it holds the majority (61.90%) but does not achieve the status of a basic word order. Pronominal O, however, is less affected, with main clauses having the order VO just over half the time (53.85%), while subordinate clauses maintain a majority in the order OV (57.14%). As in other areas of the data, however, the scarcity of instances of pronominal O makes these figures less reliable than those for nominal O.

The more salient figures for the Latin of this corpus are summarized in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2 *Summary of data for the Latin of Corpus 2 (non-scriptural translations)*

Genitives				
Nominal	NG		69.41%	basic order
Pronominal	NG		65.00%	
Demonstrative Adjectives				
	DN		91.67%	basic order
Verbs				
Absolute position	V-medial	main	43.69%	
	V-final	subordinate	43.75%	
Relative to S-nominal	SV	main	55.26%	
		subordinate	73.91%	basic order
S-pronominal	SV [VS/SV] ⁷	main	100.00%	basic order
		subordinate	[50.00%] ⁷	
O-nominal	VO	main	73.33%	basic order
		subordinate	61.90%	
O-pronominal	VO	main	53.85%	
	OV	subordinate	57.14%	

⁷ Subordinate clauses with pronominal S have only one instance in each order, VS and SV, and are thus not really determinable in any meaningful way.

The Greek source texts of this corpus favor similar orders to those of their Latin translations, though at times to a greater or lesser degree. For example, while both the Latin and the Greek postpose the majority of their genitives, the Greek does so in 84.15% of main clauses and 85.71% of subordinate clauses, as compared to 69.41% and 65.00% respectively in the Latin. At the same time, the Greek preposes its demonstratives in only 69.84% of instances, as compared to 91.67% of Latin demonstratives.⁸

For the sake of comparison, the corresponding data for the Greek of this corpus are presented in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3 *Summary of data for the Greek of Corpus 2 (non-scriptural source texts)*

Genitives				
Nominal	NG		84.15%	basic order
Pronominal	NG		85.71%	basic order
Demonstrative Adjectives				
	DN		69.84%	basic order
Verbs				
Absolute position	V-medial	main	50.55%	
		subordinate	38.36%	
Relative to S-nominal	SV	main	56.41%	
		subordinate	58.62%	
S-pronominal ⁹	SV	main	77.78%	basic order
		VS	subordinate	60.00%
O-nominal	VO	main	72.22%	basic order
		subordinate	71.43%	basic order
O-pronominal ¹⁰	VO/OV	main	50.00%	
		OV	subordinate	62.50%

⁸ Of course, both of these figures are sufficient to establish DN as the basic order in their respective languages.

⁹ The actual number of instances of pronominal S being small (9 in main clauses and only 5 in subordinate clauses), these word orders and their percentages are less well attested.

¹⁰ The figures for pronominal O, like those for pronominal S, are based on a small number of instances (12 main clauses and 8 subordinate ones).

B.3. Old Testament Translations (Corpus 3)

The examined portions of St. Jerome's translations of First Samuel, Esther, and Judith, when taken together, present a very different picture of word order from the Latin of the previous two corpora. Genitives in this corpus clearly favor postposition as their basic word order, with 90.35% of nominal genitives and 92.31% of pronominal ones appearing after their nouns. Disjunction is at the lowest level among the three corpora, occurring with only 3.95% of nominal genitives and 3.85% of pronominal ones.

Demonstrative adjectives are also significantly different in their distribution, with 62.76% now appearing in postposition, whereas for both Corpus 1 and Corpus 2 the vast majority were preposed. Although the postposing of demonstratives does not quite rise to the level of establishing a basic word order here,¹¹ it is a clear reversal of the basic DN order in the previous corpora. Disjunction is again low (5.10%), being less than half as common as in Corpus 2 and barely more than one fifth of that in Corpus 1.

Verbs in these translations favor absolute initial position in the majority of clauses (56.39% of main clauses and 56.72% of subordinate ones). This reversal from Corpus 1 is accompanied by a marked increase in the placement of V in relative initial position with nominal S and O, the order VSO accounting for 38.89% of main clauses and 45.45% of subordinate ones.¹² Moreover, the majority of clauses with nominal S now appear in the order VS (59.32% of main clauses and 64.58% of subordinate ones). Much the same as with demonstratives, this means that the verbs of Corpus 3 have replaced the basic SV

¹¹ For the Latin of First Samuel alone, postposition does constitute a basic order (76.56%). The variation of distributions among the texts of Corpus 3 will be treated below.

¹² Nonetheless, the order SVO is still well represented, holding the single largest share (41.67%) of main clauses with nominal S and O, and a share equal to that of VSO (45.45%) for subordinate clauses.

order of Corpus 1 with the majority of instances now being in the opposite order. On the other hand, clauses with pronominal S have resisted this typological shift, maintaining SV as their basic order (90.00% of main clauses and 100% of subordinate ones).¹³ The ordering of O and V has shifted to a basic VO order both for nominal O (82.79% of main clauses and 78.72% of subordinate ones) and for pronominal O (76.92% of main clauses and 78.26% of subordinate ones). This is, of course, a complete typological reversal from Corpus 1, while some reordering of this kind was also seen in Corpus 2.

Following the pattern of the previous tables, the Latin data of this corpus are summarized in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4 *Summary of data for the Latin of Corpus 3 (Old Testament translations)*

Genitives				
Nominal	NG		90.35%	basic order
Pronominal	NG		92.31%	basic order
Demonstrative Adjectives				
	ND		62.76%	
Verbs				
Absolute position	V-initial	main	56.39%	
		subordinate	56.72%	
Relative to S-nominal	VS	main	59.32%	
		subordinate	64.58%	
S-pronominal	SV	main	90.00%	basic order
		subordinate	100.00%	basic order
O-nominal	VO	main	82.79%	basic order
		subordinate	78.92%	basic order
O-pronominal	VO	main	76.92%	basic order
		subordinate	78.26%	basic order

¹³ As before, the weight of these pronominal data is attenuated by the relative scarcity of their occurrence (10 main clauses and 7 subordinate ones).

It will be recalled that, among the Hebrew data of Corpus 3, genitive equivalents were not counted on their own. Instead, the number of times a Latin genitive was directly equivalent to the Hebrew was counted. As such, there are no figures to report for Hebrew genitives. For demonstratives and verbs, the Hebrew data show the same preferred word orders as the translations, but to a more extreme degree. For example, the postposition of demonstratives, which occurs 62.76% of the time in the Latin, is observed 100% of the time in the Hebrew. Similarly, the placement of nominal S after V is found in 94.12% of Hebrew subordinate clauses, whereas it appears in 64.58% of such clauses in the Latin.

For the sake of comparison, the corresponding data for the Hebrew of this corpus are summarized in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5 *Summary of data for the Hebrew of Corpus 3 (Old Testament source texts)*

Genitives				
Nominal	n/a			
Pronominal	n/a			
Demonstrative Adjectives				
	ND		100.00%	basic order
Verbs				
Absolute position	V-initial	main	66.49%	
		subordinate	68.75%	basic order
Relative to S-nominal	VS	main	73.74%	basic order
		subordinate	94.12%	basic order
S-pronominal	[SV] ¹⁴ [none]	main	[100.00%]	
		subordinate		
O-nominal	VO	main	88.57%	basic order
		subordinate	81.82%	basic order
O-pronominal	VO	main	100.00%	basic order
		subordinate	100.00%	basic order

¹⁴ Since there was but one instance of pronominal S in all of the Hebrew data counted, there is no meaningful way to speak about word order for this category.

C. Provisional Interpretation of the Data

Having gained a composite view of the word orders for each corpus, we can now compare them one to another, in order to draw certain provisional conclusions about the data. This interpretation of the data is considered provisional insofar as it treats each corpus as a unified whole. It was seen in the previous chapters, however, that there is in fact some variety among the texts, particularly among the translations from the Hebrew and Aramaic comprised in Corpus 3. The implications of this heterogeneity and the questions it raises will be addressed in the next section; for the present, the unified presentation of the corpora is maintained.

Beginning, then, with the comparison of St. Jerome's original writings (Corpus 1) to his Old Testament translations (Corpus 3) – the ultimate object of this investigation – we see at once the statistically significant typological upheaval in almost every word order examined. The even distribution of genitives between GN and NG in Corpus 1 (see Table 5.1) is replaced in Corpus 3 (see Table 5.4) by a basic NG order for both nominal (90.35%) and pronominal genitives (92.31%).¹⁵ The basic DN order (90.22%) of Jerome's native Latin is replaced in his translations by a majority of demonstratives in the order ND (62.76%).¹⁶ The majority preference in Corpus 1 for V to be in absolute final position among both main (57.14%) and subordinate clauses (57.97%) is reversed to a majority preference for V-initial clauses in Corpus 3 (56.39% and 56.72% respectively).¹⁷ The

¹⁵ For the comparison of nominal genitives, $p = 2.55 \times 10^{-18}$ (see Table 2.11.B); for pronominal genitives, $p = 5.05 \times 10^{-4}$ (see Table 2.12.B).

¹⁶ For this shift in demonstratives, $p = 4.02 \times 10^{-17}$ (see Table 3.10.B).

¹⁷ For the comparison of the absolute position of verbs in main clauses, $p = 6.72 \times 10^{-21}$ (see Table 4.17.B); in subordinate clauses, $p = 4.17 \times 10^{-12}$ (see Table 4.18.B).

ordering of V and nominal S has shifted from the basic SV order of both main (78.13%) and subordinate clauses (90.00%) in Jerome's original Latin writings to the order VS (59.32% and 64.58% respectively) in his Old Testament translations.¹⁸ And finally, the basic OV order for both nominal and pronominal O found in main and subordinate clauses of Corpus 1 (ranging from 68.00% to 85.71%) is replaced with a basic VO order (from 76.92% to 82.79%) for the same in Corpus 3.¹⁹

The one exception to these typological shifts and reversals is found in clauses containing a pronominal S, which in Corpus 1 are all in the order SV. Contrary to the reordering found elsewhere, and particularly with nominal S, these clauses remain almost exclusively in the order SV in Corpus 3, with 90.00% of main clauses and 100% of subordinate ones appearing in that order.²⁰ As noted previously,²¹ this suggests a limit on the grammaticality of postposing pronominal S in Latin, but the specifics of this syntactic phenomenon are outside the scope of the present investigation.

On the face of it, then, the differences of word order between Corpus 1 and the Latin of Corpus 3 are so great as to defy any explanation invoking chance or the normal variance of word order (i.e., they are statistically significant). Moreover, the clear

¹⁸ For main clauses, the comparison yields $p = 1.31 \times 10^{-6}$; for subordinate clauses, $p = 2.25 \times 10^{-6}$ (see Table 4.20.B for both).

¹⁹ For nominal O main clauses, $p = 8.88 \times 10^{-11}$; and for subordinate clauses, $p = 1.06 \times 10^{-5}$ (see Table 4.22.B). Due to the low frequencies of pronominal O in the corpora, chi square tests were not performed on those data.

²⁰ It should be noted again that these percentages reflect low numbers of actual instances of pronominal S (9 in main clauses and just 4 in subordinate clauses of Corpus 1, and 10 in main clauses and 7 in subordinate clauses of Corpus 3). Nonetheless, the absolute and near absolute preferences found in these corpora are indicative of the basic nature of the SV order for pronominal S in Latin. Of course, it must also be said that the one instance of pronominal S in the Hebrew of Corpus 3 is also found in the order SV, meaning that there is no specific impetus from the Hebrew source texts to reverse this order.

²¹ See Tables 4.10 and 4.15 and the discussions following each.

correspondences between the word orders of Jerome's Old Testament translations and their Hebrew source texts (see Tables 5.4 and 5.5) argue strongly that the differences in the Latin word orders are the result of a close adherence to those source texts. Therefore, we must, at least provisionally, see in the data a distinction between St. Jerome's native syntax and that employed in his Old Testament translations.

Turning to a comparison between the original writings of Corpus 1 and Jerome's translations from Origen's Greek homilies in Corpus 2, we find a mixture of altered and maintained word orders. The even distribution of genitives in Corpus 1 has also shifted toward postposition in the Latin of Corpus 2 (see Table 5.2). However, in contrast to the figures for Corpus 3, where percentages are in the 90s, the preference for postposing genitives in the Latin of Corpus 2 is more moderate, with 69.41% of nominal genitives and only 65.00% of pronominal ones appearing after their nouns. For the pronominal genitives of Corpus 2, then, this shift is neither statistically significant ($p = .43$)²² nor sufficient to establish postposition as a basic word order according to Dryer's (1989) standard, meaning that their word order is typologically indistinguishable from that of the pronominal genitives in St. Jerome's original writings. At the same time, their motivation to shift is little less than it was in Corpus 3, since the underlying Greek shows pronominal genitives in postposition 85.71% of the time (see Table 5.3). The resistance in the Latin, therefore, is apparently an instance of Jerome's native style taking precedence over the word order of his Greek source text.

Demonstrative adjectives in the Latin of Corpus 2 also show some independence from the Greek word order. For, although Origen's Greek shares with Jerome's translations

²² See Table 2.12.A.

a basic DN order, the 91.67% of Latin demonstratives thus ordered (Table 5.2) find better justification in the original writings of Corpus 1 (90.22% being DN)²³ than in the 69.84% of demonstratives following this order in the Greek source texts (Table 5.3).²⁴ In other words, a closer adherence to Origen's Greek would have diminished the number of preposed demonstratives in the Latin renderings, but Jerome's translations in Corpus 2 actually show a very slight increase over his original Latin writings.

The ordering of verbs in Corpus 2, much like that of genitives, shows a mixed adherence to the source text. The largest share of main clauses in the Latin of Corpus 2 (43.69%) are V-medial (as are 50.55% of those in the Greek, see Table 5.3),²⁵ while the majority of those in Corpus 1 (57.14%) are V-final.²⁶ On the other hand, subordinate clauses in the Latin of Corpus 2 still favor final V (43.75%), if to a lesser degree than in Corpus 1 (57.97%),²⁷ though the largest share in the Greek (38.36%) are again V-medial.²⁸ This ambivalence of influence on the position of V is perhaps best exemplified, however, in the relative ordering of S and V, where both Jerome's native Latin and Origen's Greek tend to favor the order SV but in different proportions. For nominal S, the

²³ For the comparison of Latin demonstratives in Corpora 1 and 2, $p = .74$ (see Table 3.10.A).

²⁴ For the comparison of the Latin demonstratives in Corpus 2 to those in the Greek source texts, $p = 5.99 \times 10^{-4}$ (see Table 3.11).

²⁵ For the comparison of the absolute positions of V in Latin main clauses of Corpus 2 to those in the Greek source text, $p = .47$ (see Table 4.19.A).

²⁶ For the comparison of the absolute positions of V in main clauses of Corpus 1 to those in the Latin of Corpus 2, $p = 1.65 \times 10^{-6}$ (see Table 4.17.A).

²⁷ For the comparison of the absolute positions of V in subordinate clauses of Corpus 1 to those in the Latin of Corpus 2, $p = .01$ (see Table 4.18.A).

²⁸ For the comparison of the absolute positions of V in Latin subordinate clauses of Corpus 2 to those in the Greek source text, $p = .13$ (see Table 4.19.B).

percentages of both main and subordinate clauses exhibiting the SV order are noticeably lower in the Latin of Corpus 2 (55.26% of main clauses and 73.91% of subordinate ones) than in Corpus 1 (78.13% and 90.00% respectively), presumably under the influence of the Greek source text (56.41% and 58.62%). But among subordinate clauses, the Latin of Corpus 2 is statistically undifferentiated from St. Jerome's original writings ($p = .12$)²⁹ as well as from the Greek ($p = .25$).³⁰ In this facet, then, the Latin translation hangs suspended like a bridge between its two influences.

The only instance of a typological reversal like those seen in the Latin of Corpus 3 is found with the relative ordering of O and V in Corpus 2. Whereas the order OV is basic for both nominal and pronominal O in main and subordinate clauses of Corpus 1 (ranging from 68.00% to 85.71%, see Table 5.1), the order VO is basic (73.33%, see Table 5.2) for main clauses with nominal O in the Latin of Corpus 2, and also comprises a majority (61.90%) of subordinate clauses with nominal O. This shift seems to reflect the fact that VO is the basic order for nominal O in the underlying Greek (72.22% of main clauses and 71.43% of subordinate ones, see Table 5.3). Of course, such a reversal in the ordering of O and V follows naturally from the shift toward medial V already seen in this corpus. Nonetheless, the data for pronominal O, though reflecting only a small number of actual instances, show a slight preference for the order OV among subordinate clauses in both the Latin of Corpus 2 (57.14%) and the Greek (62.50%).

Without denying the influence of the Greek on its word order – especially on the relative ordering of O and V – we may safely conclude that the Latin of Corpus 2

²⁹ See Table 4.20.A.

³⁰ See Table 4.21.A.

maintains a greater degree of independence from its source texts than was seen in the Old Testament translations of Corpus 3. Not only does this lend further credence to Jerome's espoused distinction of translation practices (Ep. 57.5.2), but it also highlights the unique status of the word order patterns in those Scripture translations, taken as a whole, among the various writings of St. Jerome's oeuvre.

In order to present a synoptic view of these findings, a kind of scorecard is arranged in Table 5.6, showing the degree to which the data for each syntagm support the thesis that Scripture translation, as a genre, licenses different rules of language usage.

Table 5.6 *Degree to which the data support the thesis*

	Corpus 1	Corpus 2	Corpus 3
Genitives GN/NG	Partially NG (nominal G) GN/NG (pronominal G)	Strongly NG
Demonstrative Adjectives DN	Strongly DN stronger than Greek	Strongly ND
Verbs V-final SV OV	Mildly V-medial (main clauses) SV VO (nominal O)	Strongly V-initial VS (nominal S) VO

Under each score, as it were, are noted the more significant word orders, as changed or maintained from the word orders of Corpus 1, which led to that determination.

D. Questions for Further Investigation

The findings of this study have illuminated many aspects of St. Jerome's word order with regard to his differentiated translation techniques, while at the same time raising certain questions that deserve further investigation. The first of these pertain to the

heterogeneity found in some of the data for the individual texts comprised in Corpus 3, Jerome's Old Testament translations. As has been noted already, the composite data of Corpus 3, though revealing much about Jerome's overall approach to translating the Scriptures, also conceal some differences in how he handled the translation of one book versus that of another. It is profitable at this point, therefore, to examine those differences and offer for consideration some of the questions they raise.

In almost every word order examined among the three texts of Corpus 3, there is in fact some variety, though much of it is subtle and to be expected. For example, neither Esther nor Judith adheres to First Samuel's absolute (100%) preference for postposed genitives. At the same time, both books do hold postposition as their basic orders, with the overwhelming majority of their genitives so placed.³¹

With demonstrative adjectives, however, the discrepancies are far too great to be overlooked.³² While Jerome's translation of First Samuel, in imitation of the Hebrew, exhibits a basic ND order (76.56%), his rendering of Esther actually maintains the Latinate DN order as basic (76.00%) and is not significantly different in this respect from the original writings of Corpus 1 ($p = .06$).³³ The translation of Judith also favors the preposing of its demonstratives (55.81%), but in this instance the increased frequency of the ND order is sufficient to be considered significantly different from the distribution

³¹ In Esther 83.84% of nominal genitives and 83.33% of pronominal ones are NG, in Judith these are 89.29% and 92.86% respectively. See Tables 2.8 and 2.9 for the raw counts of genitives by book.

³² For the raw counts of demonstratives by book, see Table 3.7.

³³ See Table 3.14.B.

found in Corpus 1 ($p = 4.36 \times 10^{-6}$).³⁴ Why, then, if in all three books genitives are generally imitative of the word order in their source texts, are demonstratives treated so differently? Is it because the postposing of genitives in Latin is a common word order, while postposition of demonstratives is clearly marked? Is this evidence of an evolution in Jerome's thought on the importance of imitating the word order of the Scriptures? If so, why is it that the translation of Judith, which is thought to have taken place after that of Esther, returns to a greater acceptance of this marked word order?

Various discrepancies also appear in the relative placement of verbs among the texts of Corpus 3. Once again, Jerome's Latin version of First Samuel can be described as generally imitative of the Hebrew word order, including in its frequent placement of nominal S after V (66.67% of main clauses and 71.43% of subordinate ones with nominal S are in the order VS).³⁵ In the translation of Judith, however, a slight majority of main clauses with nominal S (53.57%) are found in the order SV. Nonetheless, subordinate clauses in Judith favor the VS order for nominal S 69.23% of the time.³⁶ This anomaly runs the other way in Jerome's rendering of Esther, where 55.56% of main clauses with nominal S are VS, but subordinate clauses are evenly split between VS and SV. Such variances are more difficult to pin down, but they raise similar questions about Jerome's

³⁴ See Table 3.14.C. Of course, it should also be borne in mind that Jerome's translation of Judith is not from a Hebrew source, but from an Aramaic one which is not extant. Furthermore, while Biblical Aramaic and the Aramaic of the Targums generally postpose demonstrative adjectives, on the whole, the language is less fixed than Hebrew in the placement of its demonstrative adjectives (Muraoka 2015, § 14 (1); Rosenthal 2006, § 34; Stevenson 1962, § 5.10). It is possible, then, that some of the preposed demonstratives in Judith are in fact directly imitative of that word order in the source text.

³⁵ For the raw counts of the relative ordering of V and nominal S by book, see the parenthetical figures in Table 4.15.

³⁶ Again, Judith is translated from Aramaic, whose rules of verb placement are more obscure and debated than in Hebrew (see Muraoka [2015, § 17 (5)] and Rosenthal [2006, § 183]). Therefore, these variations, besides indicating a foreign influence on the Latin syntax, may actually be representative of a close adherence to the (non-extant) source text.

adherence to word-order literalism from the translation of one book to another.³⁷ Are these discrepancies in his practice more a matter of chance or accident, or are there factors that prompted St. Jerome to consciously depart from his avowed adherence to the word order of his scriptural source texts?

Besides these questions of internal inconsistency, there are questions about the relationship of the data analyzed to our expectations based on Jerome's own testimony and the evaluations of other scholars. Both Kedar (1988, 326) and Kelly (1975, 162), for instance, describe a progression from more to less literal renderings over the course of Jerome's career as a Scripture translator. The fact that demonstrative adjectives in First Samuel, an early translation, appear in a majority of instances (76.56%) in the Hebraic ND order, while those of Esther, a later rendering labeled by Kedar (1988, 324) "a model of paraphrastic translation," are most often (76.00%) in the Latinate DN order seems to corroborate their assessment in this respect. How, then, can Jerome say in his prologue to Esther that he "translated it quite accurately word for word" (BSV 712; *Quem . . . verbum e verbo pressius transtuli*)? Is it possible in this instance that by "word" Jerome means something more on the order of noun phrase, where the internal elements of the phrase can be deployed in their native Latin order, so long as the phrase remains in its place relative to the other major constituents of the clause? If, prescindendo from such a possibility, we disregard Jerome's testimony as inaccurate (for whatever reason), how do we account for the clear Hebraic influence on the ordering of genitives and verbs in the very same translation?

³⁷ One might add to those enumerated the fact that subordinate clauses with pronominal O in Esther favor the Latinate OV order in 3 out of 4 instances (see the parenthetical figures in Table 4.16), but the paucity of actual instances (as elsewhere with pronouns) makes this count less reliable.

The opposite difficulty is presented by Jerome's assessment of his translation of Judith, which he professes to have rendered "more sense for sense than word for word" (BSV 691; *magis sensum e sensu quam ex verbo verbum*). If this is an accurate description of his approach, how does it accord with the fact that genitives in this translation overwhelmingly follow the basic NG order typical of Aramaic,³⁸ or that the majority of verbs (51.72% of main clauses and 55.00% of subordinate ones) appear in initial position, an order only sparingly used in his native style (13.49% and 8.70% respectively)? Must it be said that a sense-for-sense rendering necessarily departs from the typical word orders of its source text? Does Jerome's relativizing use of "more" allow for some degree of word-order literalism to remain? Is it possible that these word orders are meant to evoke the flavor of the source text, a kind of biblical idiom, while not actually representing the text word for word?

All of these questions show that there is still considerable work to be done in exploring St. Jerome's translations and the techniques he employed in their execution. The efforts made in the present investigation, though fruitful in their intended scope, are only a beginning. Whatever work remains to be done, however, must proceed along similar lines, using quantifiable data in order to draw verifiable conclusions, instead of relying on unsystematic and anecdotal evidence, which too often leads to inaccurate or inconsistent opinions.³⁹

³⁸ See Rosenthal (2006, §§ 41, 47, and 48).

³⁹ Cf. Tov's (1981, 60n39) critique of such an "intuitive" approach.

E. Conclusion

Despite the partial heterogeneity found among the texts of Corpus 3 and the questions it raises, the overwhelming force of the data presented in this study confirms the thesis with which it began. Scripture translation, as a genre, does license different rules of language usage from those of other genres in St. Jerome's oeuvre, at least with respect to word order.

Taken individually, we see in each of the translations in Corpus 3 the clear influence of the foreign word orders of their Hebrew (and Aramaic) source texts. While Jerome's rendering of First Samuel is the most extreme, with nearly every word order that has been investigated showing profound typological variance from the norm of his original writings in Corpus 1, it is certainly not unparalleled among his other Scripture translations. The adoption of a basic order of postposition for genitives in the translations of Esther and Judith, the statistically significant increase in postposition of demonstrative adjectives in Judith, and the preference for placing verbs in absolute initial position in all three of these texts are sufficient, each on its own, to justify the conclusion that there are other rules of syntax operative in these translations.

Taken together, St. Jerome's scriptural translations in Corpus 3 demonstrate the consistent occurrence of these typological anomalies in this genre. In contradistinction to the more Latinate renderings of Corpus 2, where Jerome's ordinary word orders have clearly been influenced by the Greek source texts, but not wholly overturned, the composite data of Corpus 3 reveal the extent to which the translator allowed the conscious technique of word-order literalism to shape his language usage, to bend it into unfamiliar patterns, to produce a "translationese" (Rubio 2009, 198) in place of his native

Latin style. This, in turn, gives us some insight into the translation technique Jerome used in his Vulgate renderings, an insight which the saint himself readily confessed:

Ego enim non solum fateor, sed libera voce profiteor me in interpretatione Graecorum absque scripturis sanctis, ubi et verborum ordo mysterium est, non verbum e verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu.

For I not only admit, but profess with a free voice that in the translation of Greek – apart from the Holy Scriptures, where even the order of the words is a mystery – I do not render word for word, but sense for sense. (Epistle 57.5.2)

If in practice the distinction was more complicated and variously applied in his translations than this simple formulation would indicate, nonetheless this investigation has shown that there is also more truth, more verifiable fact, to this statement than has always been recognized – a conclusion which could only be reached by the careful examination of St. Jerome's word order.

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